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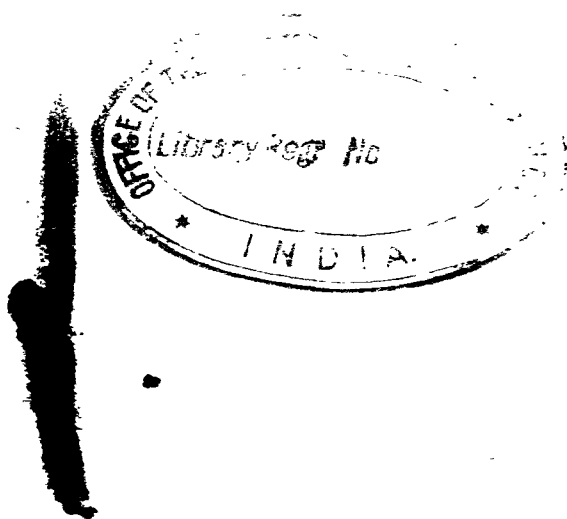
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

### ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1925.

VOLUME XXX.

No. 78.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

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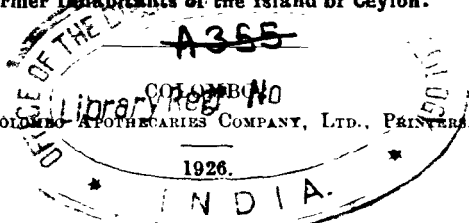
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The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries  
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,  
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and  
former inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

THE COLONIAL APOTHECARIES COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

1926.

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

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### COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 11th, 1925.*

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna,  
Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara,  
Mudaliyar.  
„ W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.  
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.  
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.,

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

### *Business:*

1. Letters regretting their inability to attend were received from Dr. P. E. Pieris, The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Prof. R. Marrs, and the Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka.

2. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th December, 1924, were read and confirmed.

3. The draft Annual Report for 1924, was read and passed subject to a few alterations.

4. The question of the nomination of Office-bearers for 1925-26 was considered.

The Honorary Secretary pointed out that under Rule 18, the Senior Vice-President Dr. Joseph Pearson retires by longest continuous service.

and that Mr. Codrington and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz be  
ed as Vice-Presidents to fill the existing vacancies.

It decided that Mr. C. H. Collins be nominated a co-Honorary Secretary in place of Mr. Codrington, but that the latter be requested to continue to edit the journal until such time as Mr. Collins is able to relieve him.

Under Rule 20, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and A. M. Hocart, retire by seniority and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna and Dr. R. L. Spittel by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, it was resolved that Messrs. Turner and Hocart be nominated for re-election and that Dr. Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers be nominated to fill the remaining vacancies.

5. The resolutions passed by the Sub-committee appointed to report on the question of an Etymological Sinhalese Dictionary were considered. Resolved that the Committee be informed that

(a) priority be given to the Sinhalese English Etymological Dictionary as the Sinhalese Dictionary when compiled will not be an independent work, but an adaptation and to a certain extent a translation of the other work,

(b) while there is no objection to the question being referred to Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha, for his views there appears to be no need to wait for his reply.

(c) the Council desire to have definite proposals for the compilation of a Sinhalese English Etymological Dictionary with a few typical examples as to the lines on which it should be written, as early as possible.

6. The question of the Annual Government grant to the Society was discussed.

The Council unanimously decided that the Secretary be authorized to write to Government and request that the grant be increased from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500.

7. Messrs. E. C. T. Holsinger, T. D. S. A. Disanayaka, A. M. Caldera, S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, M.A., Walter E. Pine, Don James Alfred Abeyaratna, Irving B. Gunawardana and Charles Hubert de Mel, having been duly proposed and seconded were elected as members of the Society.

8. It was resolved that Mr. O. E. Goonetilleke be asked to audit the accounts for 1924.

9. It was resolved that the Annual General Meeting be arranged for the end of March and that His Excellency the Governor be invited to preside.

The following agenda for the Annual General Meeting was passed:—

- (i) Minutes,
- (ii) Adoption of the Annual Report for 1924,
- (iii) Election of Office-bearers for 1925-26.
- (iv) Paper entitled "Rajasingha II and his British Captives," by Mr. E. Reimers.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 27th, 1925.*

## Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.  
 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala,	Mr. Cyril M. Kumarasinha,
Muhan'dram	.. S. B. Kuruppu.
Mr. W. E. Bastian,	.. L. M. Maattensz
.. R. A. Cader,	Prof. R. Marris, C.I.E.,
Dr. E. A. Cooray,	Mr. R. Pararajasingham,
Mr. P. M. A. Corea,	.. R. Sri Pathmanathan,
The Hon. Mr. C. E. V. S.	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
Corea,	Mr. A. B. Rajendra,
Mr. J. W. de Alwis,	.. H. T. Ramachandra,
.. Lionel de Fonseka,	.. Walter Samarasingha,
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,	Atapattu Mudahyar,
Mr. F. J. de Mel,	.. C. Supramaniam,
.. E. C. T. Holsinger,	.. F. A. Tisserasingha,
.. Albert E. Jayasinha,	.. D. D. Weerasingha,
.. A. P. A. Jayawardana,	Mudahyar.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.,

.. Aubrey N. Weinman.

Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 6 ladies and 22 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 26th November, 1924, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Paul E. Pieris proposed a vote of appreciation to His Excellency, Sir William Manning, Patron of the Society.

In doing so he said —

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—Our Society has now existed for a considerable time, and its record of work is one to which we might look with a certain degree of modest pride. The Royal Asiatic Society—as its name indicates, the Parent Society has always looked to and received the countenance of the august Head of the State. In this small community of ours, it has been a satisfaction to our Society that under the rules of this Institution its Patron has to be the representative of His Majesty. It has been very much in the interests of the Society and very much in the interests of the public that we should be able to rely on his assistance and support. And in his dealings with us Sir William Manning has not fallen short of the fine example which has been set by his great predecessors in the office of Governor

of Ceylon. I therefore, propose that we should place on record in the Minutes of Society an expression of our appreciation of the sympathy and helpfulness which we have always received from His Excellency the Governor. (Applause).

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva in seconding said: I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote of appreciation which has just been proposed by Dr. Pieris. I need hardly say that in the work of this Society the Patron has always played a very important part at its meetings. Sir William Manning, I think, has taken a great deal of trouble in attending our meetings practically every year and listening sometimes to very dry papers and to dry discussion. He always took an interest in the advancement of science—and we cannot do better than record our appreciation of the services he had rendered the Society. I have very great pleasure in seconding the vote.

3. The following report was adopted on a motion proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Mudaliyar D. D. Weerasingha:—

#### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1924.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1924:—

#### MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 31st March, when the Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, presided. The Annual Report was read. A paper entitled "The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Kataragam God) with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in his praise and side-lights from Greek religion and literature" by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab) was read by the Hon. Mr. A. Mahadeva, B.A., (Cantab). A note on the "Socketed Clay Piping from Kotte (Jayawardhanapura, circa 1415-1457 A.D.)" was read by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera. In July, a General Meeting was held when Dr. R. L. Spittel delivered a lecture illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Last of the Veddahs." A General Meeting was held in November, at the Physics Theatre, Ceylon University College, with Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair, and a lecture was delivered on the "Geological History of Ceylon" by Dr. F. D. Adams, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R., Geol. S., Vice-President, McGill University, Montreal.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 75, 1922, which was in the Press at the end of 1923, was issued early in the year, the contents of which were given in the last year's report.

Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 76, 1923, was also issued, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes:—

(1) Palm Leaf Manuscripts on Ridi Vihare by Mr. W. A. de Silva;

(2) The Captivity of Major Davie by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.;

(3) The Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment, by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi;

(4) Notes on the Forts of the Jaffna Islands, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S., (Edin.), F.L.S.;

(5) *Excerpta Maldiviana*, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., (retired);

(6) The Kabapana of the Vinaya Párajiká Páli, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

### MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 348 members of whom 42 are Life Members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 20 new members were elected — Messrs. J. W. de Alwis, J. P. de Fonseka, B.A., (London), J. Matthias de Mel, Felix de Silva, Peter de Silva, B.A., (London), Rev. E. C. Dewick, M.A., Messrs. C. V. Gunasekera, Wilfred Gunasekara, L. D. C. Hughes, C.C.S., the Hon. Mr. A. St. V. Jayawardane, K.C., Mr. K. D. Lewis, the Hon. Mr. A. Mahadeva, B.A., L.L.B., Miss S. V. Parker, Messrs. G. Francis Perera, H. T. Ramachandra, A. H. Sundar Raman, M.A., Subramania Ranganathan, Aubrey N. Weinman, K. W. de A. Wijayasinha and E. B. Wikramanayaka, B.A.

### DEATHS.

The Council records with regret the deaths of Sir Ponnambalam Arunácalam, Kt., M.A., (Cantab), C.C.S., (retired), Mr. M. Kelway Bamber, Mr. William Classen, Mr. J. Matthias de Mel, Mr. W. M. Fernando, Mr. D. Nusservanjee, the Rev. Pandit R. Sasanálankara Thero and the Rev. D. W. J. Wijayasingha.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunácalam, Kt., M.A., late of the Ceylon Civil Service, died in his 71st year. He joined the Society in 1887 and became a Life Member in 1912. He was nearly 6 years a Vice-President till he was elected President of this Society in 1915, in which office he continued to serve until his decease in February, 1924.

He contributed the following articles to the Society's Journal:—

(1) *Jñāna Vāsishṭam* or the Dialogues of Vāsishṭa on Wisdom, (2) The Kandyán Provinces, (3) Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Siva Worship and Symbolism, (4) The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Katragam God). Among the most important of his literary works are:—(1) Codification of the Civil Law (2) Decennial Census of Ceylon, 1901, (3) Sketches of Ceylon History.

At the Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1924, the following resolution on the death of Sir Ponnambalam, was passed:—

"This Society resolves to place on record its appreciation of the services rendered to it by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunácalam, Kt., M.A., and of the interest which he always showed in its work, and to convey to Lady Arunácalam and to the members of the family of the late Sir Ponnambalam an expression of its sympathy with them in their bereavement."

Mr. W. M. Fernando, Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, joined the Society in 1916. He contributed notes to the Society's Journal.

The Rev. D. W. J. Wijeyesingha died at the age of 55 years. He was interested in educational work and oriental studies. His literary works include:—

(1) Sabdavibhāgaya—Sinhalese Grammar; (2) Lāmagiya—Poems for children.

### RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year. Messrs. T. S. Breechin, P.A. Gooneratne, L. B. Fernando and Dr. V. D. Gunaratna.

### THE PRESIDENT.

The vacancy caused by the death of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., who held the office of President since 1915, was filled by the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., who was the Society's Vice-Patron.

### HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum, was elected a Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, in place of Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, retired.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., left the Island on furlough in December, 1924, and was succeeded by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., as Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer. Your Council desire to place on record its indebtedness to Mr. Collins for valuable services rendered to it by him at a period of much difficulty.

### COUNCIL.

Under Rule 18, the Senior Vice-President, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., retired in order of longest continuous service. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., was elected a Vice-President.

Under Rule 20, the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., retired by seniority and Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and the Revd. Father S. G. Perera owing to least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. W. A. de Silva were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara and Dr. R. L. Spittel, As Dr. A. Nell was out of the Island during the year Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, the retiring Honorary Secretary and Treasurer was elected to fill his place.

### LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 218. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges.

The Geological Society, London, Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland, The Smithsonian Institute, the Pali Text Society, London, The American Oriental Society, The Asiatic

Society, Bengal, The Asiatic Society, Bombay, The Musee Guimet, Paris, The Royal Colonial Institute, l'Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient, Hanoi, and the Director, Colombo Museum.

For donations to the following:—The University of Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of Burma, Archaeological Survey, India, H.R.H. Prince Kityakara of Chandapuri, Siam, the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon.

### CATALOGUING AND ARRANGING OF LIBRARY.

During the year the work of re-arranging and preparing a card catalogue of the Society's Library was undertaken and is being continued.

### ACCOMMODATION.

The want of space in the Library is still a serious drawback though special attention has been drawn to this point on previous occasions. The shelves are full and there is no room for additional cases. If further accommodation is not available in the very near future, the growth of this Library will be seriously hindered and any development impossible.

### ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY FUND.

The Honorary Secretaries, with the approval of the Council, purchased from the fund, the following:—

1. Warren: Buddhism in Translations.
2. Village Education in India.
3. Bruce: Meadows Taylor's Story of my Life.
4. Thebaut: Vedanta Sutras.
5. Bloomfield: Atharva Veda.
6. Garbe: Sankhya Pravachana of Bhasya.
7. Eggelling: Satapatha Brahmana.
8. Ewbank: Indian Co-operative Studies.
9. Teichman: Travels in Eastern Tibet.
10. Langdon: Babylonian Wisdom.
11. Thomas: Vaishesika Philosophy.
12. Keith: Sankhyana Aranyaka.
13. Rogers and Beveridge: Memoirs of Jahangir, 2 vols.
14. Davids: Psalms of the Sisters.
15. Expositor, 2 vols.
16. Book of Kindred Sayings.
17. Manual of a Mystic.
18. Points of Controversy.
19. Psalms of the Brethern.
20. Doughty: Arabia Deserta 2 vols.
21. Yoga System of Patanjali.
22. Palgrave: Siwa.
23. Ronaldshay: Lands of the Thunderbolt.
24. Curle: Into the East. Notes on Burma and Malaya.
25. Bhattacha: Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.
26. Dames: Book of Duarte Barbosa vol. II.
27. Knighton: Private Life of an Eastern King.



## ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Archæological Commissioner (Mr. A. M. Hocart) has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following interesting summary of the work done by his department in 1924:—

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN 1924.

As in previous years conservation claimed most of the energies of the department. The Nakhā Vehera was repointed and the cracks were filled in. It is a great pity this was not done when it was first excavated as some of it has collapsed since 1914. It was probably a square relic chamber, not a very common type.

The cave temple at Kaludiya Pokuna, Mihintale, was the most interesting undertaking, but presented considerable difficulties owing to the flow of water from above which tends to silt up the cave area below. This has not been completely overcome yet, but will have to be tackled some time in the future. All the stones have been set up and this forms a most interesting corner. The little dāgāba known as "Indi Katu Sāva" was also taken in hand and all the stones have been put back in their place.

Western monastery "C" in Anuradhapura was taken in hand by the late Mr. Ayrton who however did not live to complete the work. This has now been completed. Monastery "I" close by was treated in a similar way. The reason for dealing successively with the monuments of the same type is that the north side was rather in a dangerous condition. This building also throws an interesting light on the methods of the time. Our operations have also proved what I had suggested, namely that the main building was set up on the site of an earlier one.

Small, yet more extensive excavations than those done hitherto, were undertaken at Veherabāṇḍigala. The excavation of "Q" the so called dāgāba, was particularly interesting as one building was found within another. It throws much light on the development of brickwork in Ceylon. It also proves that the round temple of Potgul Vehera type was known about the second century B.C.

## FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 4,107.51 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,790.27 and the expenditure was Rs. 2,658.53.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund, and of the Chinese Records Translation Fund showing balances of Rs. 1,009.50 and Rs. 1,977.77 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

The accounts have been audited by Mr. Oliver E. Goonetilleke, B.A., and the Council offer their thanks to him for the trouble he has taken.

## GENERAL.

The Society is now in the 80th year of its existence and has a most honourable record. It is to be regretted that its finances are not on a sounder foundation, and they cannot be reckoned

as such until we have at least Rs. 5,000 to our credit on fixed deposit. A start towards this goal will be made by placing a sum of Rs. 1,000 from the current account on fixed deposit, and this amount will be added to from time to time as funds permit. The Budget for 1925 is as follows:—

ESTIMATED INCOME.		ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.	
	R. C.		R. C.
Balance for 1924	4,107·51	Clerical and other	
Government Grant	500·00	expenses includ-	
Estimated Annual		ing stationery &c.	1,750·00
Subscription	2,000·00	Printing Journal	1,500·00
		Bills Outstanding	1,152·00
		Fixed Deposit (to be	
		Transferred from	
		Current Account)	1,000·00
		Purchases of new	
		books and binding	600·00
		Balance in Current	
		Account	605·51
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	6,607·51		6,607·51
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The Government Grant has been Rs. 500 per annum since 1845 which is the date of our foundation, and it is hoped that this will be at last, considerably increased, in recognition of the Society's long and useful career and the considerable part it has played in the development of the Colony.

Our membership is now 348. In this connection it may be remarked that in view of the distinguished part played by public servants who as members of this Society contributed material to its advancement, it is rather disappointing to find that a larger proportion of Government Officers do not join taking into consideration the excellent opportunities they have, in the execution of their duties in the more remote parts of the Island, of studying subjects of interest to the Society. Apart from this, as Sir Hugh Clifford said in a memorable speech at the Annual General Meeting of 1909, "It is one of the primary duties of a Civil Servant to know the history and traditions of the country which it is his business to serve."



## Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1924.

PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1923..	1,009	50
	Rs. 1,009	50
Balance in Bank ..	1,009	50
	Rs. 1,009	50

Audited and found correct,

(Sgd.) O. E. GOONETILLEKE,  
Colombo, 27th March, 1925.  
*Hony. Auditor.*

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

## Receipts and Payments A/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1924.

PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1923	723	77
In Fixed Deposit ..	1,200	00
Interest on Fixed Deposit ..	54	00
	Rs. 1,977	77
In Fixed Deposit ..	1,200	00
Balance ..	777	77
	Rs. 1,977	77

Audited and found correct,

(Sgd.) O. E. GOONETILLEKE,  
Colombo, 27th March, 1925.  
*Hony. Auditor.*

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch

On a motion proposed by Mr. L. M. Maartensz and seconded by Mudaliyar D. D. Weerasingha, the following Office-bearers for 1925-26 were elected to fill the existing vacancies:—

Vice-Presidents: Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., F.R.N.S., C.C.S., and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.

#### MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

##### New Members:

Dr. Joseph Pearson, Dsc.,

Mr. Edmund Reimers,

##### Re-elected:

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,

C.C.S.,

,, A. M. Hocart, M.A.,

##### Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.

##### Honorary Secretaries:

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman.

The Chairman, introduced the lecturer Mr. Reimers, who then read the following paper:—

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## RAJA SINHA II. AND HIS BRITISH CAPTIVES.

BY E. REIMERS.

---

AMONG the Dutch records in the Government Archives are two interesting documents, one, an official declaration made by two shipwrecked sailors of the "Persian Merchant" of their captivity in Kandyan territory and escape, and the other, a letter written by the "Merchant" of the same vessel begging the Dutch Governor of Colombo for the love of God to intercede with the King\* of Kandy for his release from his miserable slavery. The former document is a Dutch translation of the sailors' statement, which was made by them in Portuguese before certain Dutch officials at Hulftsdorp in the year 1683, and is signed, in the rough characters which we generally associate with the men who sailed before the mast in those days, made rougher by their 24 years of captivity, Thomas Kirby, and William Day. The latter document is a letter written in Portuguese on a dirty quarter-sheet of foolscap-size paper, with no date upon it, and signed Gulielmo Vassall. In the same volume as the letter is the Dutch translation bearing the date March 21, 1696, so that we may conclude that it was written a month or two earlier, making due allowance for the captive's eager anticipation of the long looked for opportunity—he had been a captive now for 37 years,—the deliberation of the messenger, and the long, slow route from Kandy to Colombo. The letter is written in good

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\* Raja Sinha II. (1632-87).

Portuguese, in a clerk's hand, and we see that the writer has so far conformed to the spirit of the letter as to sign himself Gulielmo, instead of William, Vassall, Junior. In another letter written a few years earlier to the British Agent at Madras, which I shall refer to later, he misquotes "*tempora mutantur et nos mutamur ab illis.*"

Before proceeding to the letters, I should like to recapitulate all that we know from other sources about the British captives in general and the "Persian Merchant's" men in particular. We have all read Knox, so that it will not be necessary to quote more than a few names and particulars from him. He was captured, as you will remember "a year and a half" after the "Persian Merchant's" men, probably in 1660-61, and according to him there were 13 of the "Persia's" crew in captivity at the time, viz., Mr. William Vassall, John Merginson, Thomas March, Thomas Kirby, Richard Jelf, Gamaliel Gardiner, William Day, Thomas Stapelton, Henry Man, Hugh Smart, Daniel Holstein, an Hamburger, James Gray, and Henry Bingham. As you will presently see, his version of their capture agrees with Day's and Kirby's account. He adds that Hugh Smart married a wife and had a son by her, but that he died as the result of an accident, viz., a jak fruit falling on his side; also that Henry Man, who was taken into the King's service in his palace, was cruelly punished for breaking a porcelain dish, and later was sentenced to be torn into pieces by elephants for having again offended the King. Vassall appears to have enjoyed a certain measure of royal favour at one time, having been sent for by the King to interpret a letter from Sir Edward Winter, the Agent of the East India Company at Madras, to the prisoners, which the King had intercepted. This was probably a letter sent by the British emissaries, two "tupasses" and an old Moor as Interpreter, who are referred to in Valentyn's History\* as having been sent in 1664 by "Lord" Winter, the

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\* *Bizondere Zaaken v. Ceylon*, p.200.

Governor of the English at Madraspatnam, to the King of Kandy, ostensibly with the object of liberating the English prisoners, but, the Dutch suspected, for far different reasons.

We now come to an important passage in the Dutch Minutes of Council dated 21 and 24 October 1669, \*about the 10th year of their captivity, referring to 23 British captives who were well and alive at the time. The translation, which has already appeared in a past number of the R.A.S.J.†, is as follows, with a few emendations by me.—“An ola inscribed in English, which was secretly despatched by the English who visited Cotiar some years ago, but were captured by Raja Sinha's people and have been held in captivity up to now, having been handed to H. E. the Governor by a certain Mallabar named Perga who was to convey it to Madraspatnam, has been translated as follows:—

“Right Honourable Sir Edward, In the year 1664 we received a packet numbered 61 personally addressed to us, which is all that we have received, although Mr. Vassall has received some on various occasions, but kept it from us, also money, which none of us ever received although our necessity is so great. Our company are all alive and well with the exception of Arthier Emery, (referred to as the “Cooke's mate,”) the Captain, and John Gregory, who are dead. There still survive 23 persons who would be glad to regain their liberty. Regarding news, we do not dare to write any for fear that our letter may be intercepted (or seized on the way), and we refer you in this respect to the bearer of the letter, Perga, who can give you better information of all that has happened than we can write, and who risks his life in bringing this letter. We beg Your Honour to reward him liberally. The Dutch will not be indifferent in looking after us if, by any means, Your Honour can send any help, as the bearer Perga can direct you, to us poor oppressed Captains, who shall not cease to pray for Your Honour's long life and prosperity. We remain Your Honour's servants, Johan Loueland, Robbert Knocx. In the margin was written, Zealand, 21 August 1669. There also appeared superscribed, into whatever Christian hands this letter shall come, we pray you for the love of God to forward it to the address mentioned.—(Sgd.) John Loveland.”

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\* Dutch Records, vol. D.8.

† Part 1.14, 1867-70.



After the reading of the above ola, it having been taken into consideration that we and the English Nation are not only neighbours, good friends, and allies, but that we also belong to the same religion and therefore are so much the more bound in conscience to help each other in time of need so far as circumstances may permit; and since the bearer of this ola is willing to go back with some assistance and return with further intelligence: so has it been approved and resolved, for these and other weighty reasons, as well as hereafter to convey some relief by the same means to our poor countrymen. to send by the same messenger to our abovementioned good friends and allies for their maintenance 50 gold Pagodas\* and as much clothing as he conveniently may dare to carry as a chitty, also to send them a letter written both in English and Dutch and enclosed in a quill, of the following tenor:—

“To our good Friends and beloved Allies, the Honourable Officers and subordinate prisoners of the English Nation: Understanding that Your Honours are in great need and destitution, we could not forbear to assist you, according to our duty as Christians, with so much goods as the bearer shall deliver to you and 50 Pagodas in ready money. We have forwarded the ola addressed to Sir Edward to Madras, as well as a copy of this letter. Send the bearer back as soon as possible, so that we may see, if we may through his fidelity, help some of our countrymen, who are in great need. We shall deal further with the messenger. Share everything with each other, for through the bearer we shall always help Your Honours, so long as he shall be preserved by God and be fortunate. We remain Your Honours’ good friend.—(sgd.) Ryckloff van Goens, Colombo, October 22, 1669.”

And since we consider it to be our duty to send the abovementioned ola as soon as possible to Madraspatnam, in order to inform our Friends there of the condition of their poor countrymen. it has been decided to send the said ola at the first opportunity to the Hon’ble Lord Governor Paviljoen, to be forwarded by him to Madraspatnam. together with a letter to the English Chief Officer there. of the following tenor, viz., To the

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\* Gold Pagoda = + 8s.

Hon'ble Lord President of the Hon'ble Company of the Illustrious English Nation at Madraspatnam, My Lord, Three days ago there appeared before me a black man calling himself Perga, who carried the enclosed letter inscribed on the leaf of the sugar tree,\* from which Your Excellency can see the miserable condition of your people. Since their great need permitted no delay, we have assisted them with some clothing and 50 Pagodas in cash, which the said Perga has undertaken to convey to them and to return, he being on that account promised 20 Pagodas as a reward. We trust that by these means we may be able to send some relief to your as well as our people. I have asked the black man Perga for particulars of your as well as our people, and understand from his report that 23 English are still alive, viz., 4, Captain John Loublingh, Robbert Knocx, John Berry, William Dei. These 4 are in a village above Kandy called Legonderry;† 5, among whom is Mr. Markes, who were stranded at Calpetty, and who live in the city of Kandy; 4 in Zalimoer,‡ a suburb of the town of Kandy; 4 in Oerenoere,§ another suburb of Kandy; 3 at the King's court; and 3 in Balatgamme|| a third suburb of Kandy. Total 23 officers and common folk. Of our people only 18 or 20 survive out of 64, the rest having died or been killed. They, like your people, have also been distributed among the King's palace and other places round about Kandy. One of your people was recently killed for breaking a porcelain dish at the palace. We trust that God will pity them and ordain some means to deliver these miserable men. To that end we shall do our utmost, we now being (God be praised) so far advanced by land with our outposts that we can reach your and our people in 2 days, but it is all thick jungle

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\* Talipot palm.

† Legundeniya.

‡ Yatinuwara.

§ Udunuwara.

|| Bulatgama.

and steep mountains between us, so that we must go to work secretly and with mature deliberation rather than with force. Your Excellency may rest assured that we shall do our utmost to rescue your as well as our people without any respect of persons. May God Almighty bless our efforts, and to that end must we pray and beseech Him. A Dutch copy of the letter which we have written to your people is enclosed as well as the English translation. God protect Y. E. I remain Y. E.'s good and willing servant.—(Sgd.) Ryckloff van Goens, Colombo the 23rd October\* (new style) 1669." Nothing further is known of Perga. Did he find his way back to the captives, or fall into the King's hands? We should have heard something more of him if his mission had been successful, as the Dutch were very anxious about that time to recover their prisoners, and mention was bound to have been made of him by the Dutch spies and representative at Kandy. It is also possible that he may have preferred the 50 Pagodas and the bundle of clothing to the 20 Pagodas he was to receive on his return to Colombo from the Dutch, a supposition which, alas, is confirmed by the following letter:—

† To the Worppl. President Sr. George Foxcroft,  
Governor of Fort St. George.

Honored Sr,

This is to let your Worp. understand at present we have received 2 or 3 times from the Governor of Colombo and also a letter of yours bearing date ye 18 Novemb. 1669, and on the other side of the said letter a copy bearing date 1st Novemb. 1669 of former letters sent unto Mr. Vassall, moreover we have received at present from the honorable Governor 10 Pagos. in Gold wch: is the first peece of charity we have received from **any** christian since ye first hower we fell into captivity unto this present time, for which we are all deeply engaged into his Worp: for his greate care unto us. and also we are much obliged unto your Worp: for the great care which is taken for us wch: we understand by yours at present received from

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\* 13th October, O.S. The English did not adopt the new till 1752.

† Original correspondence of East India Co.

Colombo, as from Trincambar and Porto Nova we never yet have received monies nor letters, for what Mr. Vassall hath received we know not from those parties, for whatsoever comes unto him or can receive be it moneys or letters he keepes it from us, soe his poore distressed bretheren may perrish for all him, as for the 40 pagos which is mentioned in the copie of the gennerall letter he had received them by his messenger Bananidas Braminee, and will not be knowne unto us that he hath received money or letter but denies it, the which we all know he hath certainly received, as for the difference betweene the two names of Perga and Pero they are two severall men, for the said Perga was a servant to John Loveland which came with him from Fort St. George and dwelt with him heere untill the 21th August 1669, then being sent with a letter, to Fort St. George he goes unto Columbo with the said letter, the sd letter understand by your Worp. the Governor of Columbo sent it for Madrass and sent back the foresaid Perga with 50 pagos, unto us, but but both Perga and Pero are rogues, for we understand by the honorable: Genl: of Columbo in his letter unto us, he was sent with the 50 pagos, and cloth but never saw him from the time he went from us neither money nor cloth. More also we thinck fitt to write the names of ye distressed Captives whereby our friends may know who are dead and alive. ye living as followeth. Robert Knox, Thomas March, John Loveland, John Marginson. Charles Biard, Roger Goole, Ralph Knight, Peter Wynn, Stephen Ruttlund, Francis Crudge, Wm. Hubbard, Wm. Vassall, John Berry, Gamaliel Gardener, Richard Gelfe, Wm. Day, Thomas Curby, Richard Vernam, Thomas Stapleton, Hugh Smart, Nicholas Mollens, Daniel Hulstone, George Smith, the rest deceased. We here mentioned most humbly beseech your Worp. we may not be forgotten (but ?) still some meanes may be used for our freedome out of this hellish condition in which we are in, there are none of us serves the King but are still in hopes of our libertie that God in his time wilbe pleased to open some way for us by our Nation and the honorable: Dutch Compa, if your Worp. be pleased to send or any good charitable Christian bestowing any deed of charity upon poore captives for we are very poore and in a miserable condition the safest way is by Columbo, we most humbly beseech your Worp. that our names may be sent into England, whereby our friends may know of us and of the deepe sorrow we undergoe, when your Worp. shalbe pleased to send hither it may be directed unto the Piloto Engres\* or to the Condestavilo Engres,† for we are not called by our former names with the country

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\* English Pilot, i.e., Merginson

† English gunner, i.e., March.

people as John Marginson or Thomas March, but are called according to the offices we bore in the ship or otherwis to be directed to Robert Knox or John Loveland, and soe coming to the hands of either of these it wilbe carefully disposed according to your Worps. order, but if it should come to be directed to Wm. Vassall or otherwise called the English Feitor the rest of the English will never be ye better for it.

More also in your Worps. letter we understand Mr. Nathaniell Foxcroft ordered to be sent from Porto Novo 30 or 40 pagos upon his owne good will and deed of charitie, although it never came to us we most kindly thank him for his love and pittty unto us, and the Lord prosper and bless him in all his undertakeings, all those godly charitable Christians that hath or shall send.

Not els at present but our prayers to God to prosper your worke in all your Worps. undertakings we take leave and rest, remaining your Worps. poore distressed Servants from ye Citty of Candy on the Iland of Zeilon the 23rd January 1670.— John Marginson, Thomas March, John Loveland, Robert Knox.

For ye 10 pagos. which we have received from the honoble. Governor of Columbo soe carefully sent unto us it shalbe equally devided to all our poore distressed bretheren and fellow prisoners.”

We next come to a passage in Christoph Schweitzer's Account of Ceylon, which is translated in the Ceylon Literary Register. Vol. 4, and another passage in Valentyn,\* which refer to the escape of 2 gray-haired men who appeared at Sitawaka on the 2nd July 1680 a few months after Knox and Rutland had escaped to Arippu. Schweitzer, who saw the men and spoke to them, says that according to them they were the only survivors of a party of 12, the rest having died in captivity, who 20 years before were sent ashore from an English ship at Calpentyn to fetch provisions, water, and wood, and that they were trepanned by some Kandians and sent to Kandy. Vassall also refers to a 3rd and 4th party of prisoners in a letter dated March 7, 1690, to the British agent at Madras, where he names the survivors at the time of 4 different “companies,” viz., William Vassall, Thomas March, and Richard

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\* Vol. Bijz. Zaaken v. Ceylon, p.302.

Note.—Valentyn appears to have incorporated Schweitzer's account in history.

Gelfe of the "Persia Merchant;" John Berry, William Huband (*sic*), and George Smith of the "Ann;" Abraham Grace, David Michell, and David Branch of the "Herbert;" (captured about 1681) and Robert Muda (*sic*), and Henry Dod of the "Rochester." Knox mentions 13 of the "Persian Merchant," and you will see from Day's and Kirby's statement that when they escaped in 1683, 3 years later, one of them at least, besides Vassall, was left behind. Going back to Vassall's letter just referred to, he says that at the time of his leaving England, viz., 1659, his father, 4 brothers, and a sister, were living in a very prosperous condition, and that he should be very glad to hear if any of them were alive, for the old saying was true, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur ab illis.*" The last reference to the British Captives in the Dutch Records is a passage in the Minutes of Council dated June 12, 1703, the translation of which is as follows:— With regard to the 3 Englishmen who have escaped to this place (Colombo) from Kandy, it is resolved respecting one of them named Robbert Mondy, who deserted from the "Rochester" in the Bay of Trincomalie in 1688 and was captured by the Sinhalese on his way to Galle, to take him into the Company's service as a sailor, on 9 florins a month, on the ship "de Haack" which is due to sail for the Fatherland on its return to Batavia; but with respect to the other Englishman, William Herbert, who is unfit for service owing to his great age, and his son Pieter Herbert, born of a woman of the land, to allow them 3 rixdollars each a month, till such time as the authorities at Batavia may be pleased to make further order.

I shall now read the translations of the documents which are referred to at the beginning of my paper:—

Statement by 2 Englishmen named Willem Day and Tomas Corbay, aged 44 and 52 years respectively, both from London, of their captivity in

Candia and escape, made in Portuguese before His Honour the Chief Administrator Tomas Van Rhee, the Dessave Edmont van Sterrevelt, and Captain F. Adam Slecht, the former also having with him a son, 16 years old, by a mulatto woman.

The declarants state that they sailed from England in the year 1659 in the ship the "Persian Merchant," and that having arrived in the Maldive Islands their ship struck a rock and was wrecked, the crew numbering 52 souls escaping in a boat which, however, being too small to carry so many of them, they purchased from the natives of the Islands already mentioned a skiff into which there were transferred 30 of their number among whom were both the declarants and the merchant of their ship named Willem Wessel; that they then set sail in the boat and skiff setting their course for the Island of Ceylon where they in the skiff made landfall at Putelan, at which place the Dessave of the district at the time, the uncle of the late Dessave Tinnecoon, reassured them and immediately sent word to the King, at whose command, after a delay of 20 days, they were taken to the city of Candia; that after waiting there for three months they were conducted before the King of the Island, who questioned them about the loss of their ship and their arrival in the Island, and promised them after hearing their account to set them free shortly; that he then ordered them to be taken to their lodgings where they were guarded by a number of lascorins and provided daily with food from the King's store, the which continued for a space of 4 years or till the end of 1664, when a great tumult and uproar arose in the city following a plot by the Prince and other distinguished chiefs to kill the King, which attempt however, being discovered and the King being informed of it, he escaped from the hands of the conspirators and fled to the mountain of Galvede\* where he stayed till a palace was built for him at Hangoerankitty; that

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\* Gala-uda.

when conditions were again quiet and a cruel punishment had been meted out to many people for this misdeed, up to which time the declarants as well as their countrymen and other European prisoners had to suffer great privation and hunger, seeing no relief coming, they decided to have recourse to boldness and to present themselves before the King at the place where he held his court, to convince him of their miserable condition and to ask him for food for sustaining their bodies, in which attempt they were assisted and accompanied by many other prisoners, but that, while on their way, the guards would not allow them to proceed further, but ordered them to go back, threatening them at the same time that they would shoot them dead with arrows from a bow; however, that they could not hold them back and deter them from their purpose, but that, on the contrary, they made their way through the soldiers by force, declaring that death would be far more pleasant to them than a life of misery, and that they would therefore put an end to life which caused so much suffering; thereupon, on the King being informed of this, that he ordered that all their names should be noted down, following which they were shortly afterwards again provided with food, but were then separated from each other, and distributed among the villages, the first declarant being quartered in the village of Moliagadde\* and the other in Ambegammet† situated in Blatgamme, 6 hours below the first place, and under the jurisdiction of the dessave of Oedepallatte‡ that after the lapse of some time they were allowed to go from one village to another in order to seek a livelihood, which they did in various ways suiting themselves to the manner of the land, the which gave them opportunity, which the declarants availed themselves of, to speak to each other and to

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\* Molagodda in Harispattu.

† Ambagamuwa in Bulatgama.

‡ Udepalata.



visit each other in their captivity; that for some time past they had taken counsel together how to achieve their freedom and to leave their captivity, the time finally fixed being the beginning of the Sinhalese New Year, about the last full moon, when the Sinhalese would be busy in celebrating their yearly feast and ceremonies, and would not be able to give such close attention to ordinary affairs, according to which plan the first declarant set out on the 6th of this month, accompanied by his son, and stayed the next day in the village Ambegamme, referred to above, with one of his countrymen, viz. the carpenter, and also made his way to their fellow prisoners. but being unaware of their intentions did not dare to tell them his plans through fear that they might become known, and as he had sufficiently been made aware that he (the carpenter) would stay with his wife and children; that having tarried there till the 8th following he bade him farewell and betook himself to the 2nd declarant, whom he found prepared and who followed him, the first declarant, at a short distance under pretence of going fishing with which object he carried a net; that they proceeded in this manner till they came into the forest out of sight of the people, when they joined each other and went as far as a stream which flowed past the village Calloegamme,\* and where, according to prearrangement they found two persons from the village Gabbele,† who had promised to show them the way for a consideration of 69 laryns‡ in money and goods, with whom they at once set out and that so speedily that from that afternoon, when they left the house of the 2nd declarant, till the next morning at the setting of the moon, they had approached Dernegelle in the Attacalon Corle, having passed a most difficult and unfrequented way as well as the steep and lofty mountains and rocks

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\* Kalugammana.

† Gabbala (Miyana-owita).

‡ Coin of Persian origin = 10-12 stivers, 1/5th dollar, or roughly 1 shilling.

called Gabbele and Dernegelle,\* travelling by moonlight which till daylight appeared showed them the way; that having rested there awhile they resumed their flight and thus arrived in the afternoon of the 9th at Sitawaka in the Company's fortress, not less than 14 miles† distant, where having rested that day they proceeded more leisurely to this place and arrived at night at the Heer Dessave's at Hultsdorp, thanking God for their escape from captivity which lasted for a space of 24 years, and during which they suffered much sorrow and misery, ordinarily having not more than 1 medide‡ of paddy a day for their maintenance and sometimes nothing for 5 or 6 days, when they were forced to go abegging or to seek their food in some other manner. also that it was the lot of those who were not free to go out, which was the case of the majority of the prisoners, to get no clothing at all, so that they had hardly anything wherewith to cover their nakedness, further, that they were badly treated by the great dessaves and others who had the supervision of them, and who placed them in irons and otherwise cruelly treated them, and this in respect also of the Dutch as well as the English, French, and other foreign nationalities, through which many ended their life with a miserable death, there being only 7 alive under the ensign Steenbeeck of those captured at Arandoere§ and nothing more being known concerning those captured at Bibiligammell|| than that they were few in number and in a miserable condition being kept close prisoners in the fort of Parnegamme; however, that the former Lieutenant Dessave Blicklant and a certain Sergeant commonly called the Farmer were still at the Capital where the former enjoyed good treatment, only that he was not allowed to leave

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\* Deraniyagala in Atulugam Korale.

† 1 mile Dutch=4 miles English.

‡ Port: medide=measure.

§ 48 Hollanders &c., (12 tupasses and 100 lascorins)

|| 76 Hollanders &c., (20 tupasses and 300 lascorins).

his quarters where he had been shut up now for some time.

The King of this Island, the declarants say, has not appeared in public for nearly a year owing to protracted illness, and has for some time past been afflicted with so great a debility and sickness that it was taken for certain that His Majesty would shortly be removed from this world, but that they had heard prior to their departure that he was somewhat better, although it was known full well that he would not thoroughly regain his health and strength owing to his debility and great age which the declarants say cannot be less than 77 years, however, that his rule continues with unabated rigour and cruelty towards his subjects, many of them being sent for execution on the merest suspicion, without due enquiry or their being allowed to come before him, a number of youths and others being doomed to a miserable death when a bird\* died or even shed its feathers. The declarants state further that during their presence at the court and their captivity this state of things never ceased, but that it was sometimes less and sometimes more, according as his tyrannical nature was bloodthirsty and the pain of his sickness increased, when he had recourse to astrologers, soothsayers, and other sorcerers who know full well how to beguile His Majesty and to prescribe strange remedies. The declarants add that they have often heard it reported by the King's subjects that he would never again make peace with the Company for the reason of his attack and repulse at Reygamwatte after Colombo was captured† by the Dutch nation, and that whenever any presents or letters are sent to His Majesty by the Governor, the same are always received at the court, and the report spread shortly afterwards that it was the intention of the Dutch to deceive His Majesty, or that some misfortune had befallen them

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\* Hawks of the royal mews.

† May 12, 1656.

(the Dutch) elsewhere, the people of this country being by nature very suspicious and malevolent, and, in addition, deceitful and cunning, and the King both fickle and unstable, so that it is impossible to find out his intentions, for, although they appear to be decided upon finally, he always again changes when everyone fully expects their fulfilment, and the matter is again in its former state or else turned out the wrong way, as the declarants have on various occasions seen and experienced and which has also happened in respect of the Company, as when two years ago an important present which included 6 elephants with tusks stood ready to be despatched to the Governor and had gone as far as Jattinoere, when two of the elephants died, and that was held for a bad omen and the present did not proceed further; that, later, the same thing happened in respect of such and similar matters, and that the declarants would assure us that it was designed for no other purpose than to mislead the Dutch and the other possessors of the Island of Ceylon, who live in expectation of much profit, but who will enjoy nothing of it after an experience of such disappointments. The declarants also say that it has been reported to them as true by the people of the hill country that the King has no living heir or descendant who will succeed to the throne after his death, and that in respect of this there are many and strange rumours among the hillcountrymen, many saying that after the death of the King a theatre of great misery will be erected in the land, and that it will flow with the blood of those who will not make way for the others who aspire to the sovereignty, and that in this respect the low castes\* are feared most since they are already in great numbers at the court, and are held in esteem by the King, and are in the majority, having always been faithful and willing in their service to him and having stood by him in every

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\* "Lage geslagten."

emergency; that next to them comes the Dessave of Ouve and the Seven Corles, which are fairly populous, and with which the other districts can in no way compare, but that the latter will also be involved and try to secure a part of the spoil; that, as the result of these acts of savagery and murder, it must follow that the European prisoners will be more cruelly and rigorously treated than before, and that they had indeed heard it said by many in Oedepallatte that they as well as the Moors and Kaffirs would first be set upon and overwhelmed, and that they would advise the Company in respect of this not to move their troops but, quietly, to hold their posts, allowing the savage and bloodthirsty parties to satiate their lust, as a consequence of which disorders they are certain that many districts will of their own accord fall to the Company, the people of which do not delight in killing or who wish to save their lives, although they may now appear to lag behind owing to the fear and the great reverence which they have for their king, at whose lightest word which comes from his court they all tremble and show so much deference that each one will try to obey it before the other.

Thus stated and narrated in the fortress of Colombo, the 12th of April 1683, in the presence of those mentioned above.

Sgd. Thomas Kirby

.. William Day.

In our presence:—(Sgd.) Tomas van Rhee, Edmont van Sterrevelt, Floris Blom and F. Adam Slecht.

To the Most Illustrious and Excellent Governor of Colombo and General of Ceylon, &c.

The humble petition of Gulielmo Vassall, English Factor, (Merchant of the "Persian Merchant.").

Knowing that Your Excellency is a most merciful and compassionate lord, I have not found it possible

to neglect to take the liberty, in consequence of the opportunity which has presented itself with the departure of the bearer of this letter, to bring my supplication before the eyes of Your Excellency, begging that Your Excellency may be pleased to consider my great need and desolate condition, and for the love of God to request His Imperial Majesty to set me free from my present slavery. I have not only prayed all the officers of the court to approach His Imperial Majesty with the object of effecting my release, in order that I might thus secure my liberty, but I have even made my prayer before His Imperial Majesty in person, but it was all to no purpose. I fully believe and trust that, should Your Excellency be pleased to make the request, His Imperial Majesty will instantly incline his ear to my prayer. Senor Anthony d'Orta who has been sent here on behalf of the Dutch Company, and who has served both His Imperial Majesty and the said Company most faithfully, has so far supported me and extended a helping hand to me in all honour and love, otherwise must I have perished long ago through want, and therefore will God reward him. I beseech Your Excellency to excuse the liberty which I take in wearying Your Excellency with this manner of letter, and to overlook it as being due to my great need and poverty; and, although I cannot recompense Your Excellency according to my desire, I shall not fail to pray to the Almighty to bless Your Excellency with all earthly and Heavenly blessings. His Imperial Majesty has shown great clemency in releasing all his prisoners in memory of His Imperial Majesty's father, but the poor English must remain here. We were 34 in all, but 21 of us are dead and 6 have escaped, so that only a few of us still survive and are scattered here and there. They too will rejoice should Your Excellency effect their release from their miserable slavery.

God preserve Your Excellency for many years and prosper Your Excellency.

Your Excellency's most humble servant,  
Sgd. Gulielmo Vassall, J.O.

Raja Sinha, you will be interested to know, made a determined attempt to recover Day and Kirby, who, the Dutch informed him, had already been sent to their countrymen at Madras. The following is the translation of an extract from a letter from the Dutch Governor, dated May 21, 1683, addressed to Jacob Cuycq van Mierop, the Dutch representative at the Court of Kandy.

The two recently escaped Englishmen had, like the others, immediately been sent to the Coast, or Madras, to their countrymen, so that they had departed a few days previous to the receipt of the ola addressed to us by the Officers of the Household of the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible Emperor, we being unaware that those wretched men should be surrendered, but thinking that no notice should be taken of them as with the others. Your Honour writes that Their Honours the Officers of the Household had informed Your Honour that His Imperial Majesty had never at any time exacted any special service from them, and therefore we trust that His Imperial Majesty will the less be displeased at our sending them away. Your Honour is fully aware that His Serene Highness the Lord Prince of Orange is a son of the full and true sister of the present King of England, and that His Serene Highness is married to the daughter of the Duke of York, who is the King's brother, and, further, that we and the English nation belong to the same religion, so that we could not surrender them without doing violence to our conscience and being held in derision not only by the world but by our own friends. Should the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible

Emperor order that in future such prisoners should be surrendered by us, I have to point out that the above-mentioned difficulties stand in our way, and, moreover, Your Honour can rightly answer that all this can be prevented by a closer supervision of the prisoners. However, should the Most Potent Monarch be pleased to have the goodness to release all the English prisoners as well as our countrymen as a mark of favour to His Serene Highness the Lord Prince of Orange, that Prince should as in duty bound be thankful exceedingly to the Most Potent Monarch and Invincible Emperor.

There is a certain amount of doubt and confusion as to the precise number of British captives in Ceylon about this time. First, there were the 13, according to Knox, of the "Persian Merchant," and the 16 of the "Ann." Mention is made in Valentyn's history and Christoph Schweitzer's Account of Ceylon of a party of 12 from an English ship being seized at Calpentyn and sent to Kandy; and Vassall mentions later (in 1690) the "companies of the "Persia," the "Ann," the "Herbert," and the "Rochester." From Day's and Kirby's account, it would appear that there were 30 of them who landed at Putalam. It would also appear from Schweitzer's account that the 2 who escaped in 1680 were the only survivors of those captured at Calpentyn. Day and Kirby, it will be remembered, escaped in 1683, so that the party mentioned by Schweitzer and Valentyn would not appear to be identical with that of the "Persian Merchant."

The revised figures according to the information now available in respect of the "Persian Merchant" would be 30 from that ship, 16 from the "Anne," 12 from the ship mentioned by Schweitzer, and, say, 5 from the "Herbert" and the "Rochester," making 63 in all. Of these 29 were reported by name by Knox as being alive in 1660-61; in 1669, the Dutch reported to Madras from information gathered from the bearer



of a letter from Loveland and Knox that 23 were alive; 10 years later, when Knox and Rutland escaped, there remained 16 Englishmen and 18 children born of native mothers; in 1684, the Dutch agent at Kandy reported that only 10 were alive; and in 1696, 12 years later, Vassall writes that out of 34, 21 were dead and 6 had escaped, and that only a few, i.e. 7, were alive. Two more escaped in 1703. The evidence, however, in fixing the total at 63 is not conclusive, and, after all, Knox's 13 is a closer approximation to the 12 who were captured at Calpentyn than the full complement of the Maldivian vessel. It is also on record from a letter written by one of the "Persian Merchant's" crew to the Directors of the East India Company that the English ship referred to was the Maldivian vessel, and that only 12 or 13 went ashore. The 2 who escaped in 1680 were probably unaware of the fate of their companions but concluded naturally that they were all dead. We may also conclude that those who stayed aboard made their way to the English at Madras, "their comrades lost but glad to 'scape themselves." This more cautious estimate would bring the number to 13 of the "Persian Merchant," 16 of the "Anne," and 5 of the "Herbert" and "Rochester" or 34 in all, which moreover agrees with Vassall's total. Nothing is known of the crew of the long boat which was probably lost at sea. Regarding Raja Sinha, much evil has been said of him\*, and, curiously enough, we must turn to a Dutchman, the liberal and versatile Adriaan van Rheede,† Lord of Mydrecht, and High Commissioner of the Dutch possessions in India and Ceylon in the year 1685, for the other side of the picture. Making due allowance for van Rheede's antagonism to the van Goenses, father and son, two past Governors of Ceylon, whose imperia-

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\* Memorandum of Ryckloff van Goens to Jacob Hustaart 26th December 1663.

† Val. Bijz. Zarkon p.247 et seq.

listic policy he condemns, we must admit that the Dutch brought down much of the evil upon themselves, and, incidentally, the unfortunate captives, by their policy of aggression. In the year 1664, for instance, when his people rebelled against him, Raja Sinha wrote to "his beloved Hollanders in his imperial service in Galle, Colombo, Negombo, Mannar, and Jaffna" asking them to come to his assistance and to occupy Batticaloa and Cotiar,\* but it was not till the following year, after the King had been firmly re-established on his throne, that the Dutch acted on this letter by occupying much of the King's territory. Van Rhee de also cites an instance where a hundred lascorins, who were sent in 1672 by Raja Sinha to help the French to garrison an island in the Bay of Trincomalie which the latter had fortified, were captured by the Dutch and treated so badly by them that only 5 or 6 survived. However much these acts of aggression and such isolated instances of negligence, or cruelty if you will, on the part of the Dutch may be urged in mitigation of Raja Sinha's conduct, they cannot be said to justify it; for here were innocent men, shipwrecked sailors most of them, who were detained in a vile bondage in defiance of the law of nations. There is another viewpoint: Raja Sinha was a disappointed, soured old man, who was suffering with a chronic malady. It was he who had invited the Dutch to help him to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon, but he had the mortification of seeing his old enemies expelled from the Island and his friends installed in their stead; districts which he had recovered from the Portuguese during the siege of Colombo by the Dutch in 1655-56 were seized by his new friends in his name and his subjects turned away from their allegiance to him; and, to add insult to injury, the Dutch cajoled him and used the most extravagant terms in extolling his might and supremacy

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\* Ceylon Dutch Records vol. D.7.

while they were all the time drawing the cordon closer and tighter round his narrowed kingdom. He trusted none of his chiefs, and naturally looked on all Europeans with suspicion, but, tyrant that he was, he oppressed the innocent and guilty alike, the subject and the stranger within his gates. He had a remarkable fondness for birds and beasts, which the Dutch encouraged by sending him from time to time a curious assortment of Persian horses, tigers, lions, civet-cats, parrots and cockatoes in gilded cages, and, most important of all, hawks for the royal mews. The following passage from Valentyn\* is very similar to Knox's description of him: "As to Raja Sinha's person, he was by no means tall, but, on the contrary, short and thickset, swarthy of complexion, with great quick-glancing eyes (which continually roved hither and thither), small but strongly-marked features, somewhat thin and grey hair, but with a long thick beard and a big belly. He was moreover so wonderfully and fantastically attired that he more resembled an old Portuguese with his fine gauze-like small-clothes, and a court jester with his cap stuck full with feathers, than a king."

I must conclude, but it is difficult to tear oneself away from the subject. While these documents are before us, we can imagine that we are contemporaries of these unfortunate men, we are transported nearly 300 years back to the scene of their captivity, and we can imagine their amazement at the romance and beauty of their surroundings—till their hearts grew sick with hope long deferred of one of the fairest spots on God's earth. We can picture the unfamiliar spectacle of Englishmen going about the country garbed like Sinhalese, with long hair and flowing beards, and teeth and lips stained with betel juice. We admire

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\*Val. Bijz. Zaaken v. Ceylon, p. 209.

their pluck and singleness of purpose, their industry and thrift, all directed to the amassing of a little hoard of strange currency for one glorious dash for liberty and home-return. We must also not forget the honesty and self-sacrifice of those, who, like the carpenter, preferred to remain in the land of their adoption, with the wives and children of their captivity. Their sorrows and sufferings which once seemed so real, their hopes and yearnings, their romances, their very names, are all now gone for ever and forgotten, or linger carelessly, perhaps, in some rustic memory, but their story lives in these pages of foreign script, made more familiar to us by the homely signatures of the seamen and the more cultured hand of Mr. Vassall, who, selfishly perhaps, made the most of his opportunities, but did not in the end win through to freedom like his humbler but more fortunate companions, Kirby and Day.

Dr. P. E. Pieris remarked that the value of this interesting paper would be enhanced by explanatory foot notes on obscure words and references. He also suggested that perhaps the MSS had been misread where certain of the names were concerned. For instance Legonderry was clearly Legendeny.\* It was interesting to note how far the Portuguese language had penetrated, so that even the English prisoners were found using Portuguese expressions in communications with the Dutch Governor. The reference to the lower castes emphasized one side of Raja Sinha's character. If he found it necessary to oppress, it was the big man and not the little man who had reason to fear. And yet, after Tennekon, his chief General, had turned traitor and fled to the enemy, here was Tennekon's uncle employed in a responsible capacity under the King. Similarly, a Portuguese, Anthony d' Orta, was a trusted officer of the King. His son became a Disava at Court, and their descendants are to-day an honoured Sinhalese family in the Maritime Provinces. The King was really very much less black than he has been painted. He was a chivalrous prince, and a gallant and generous foe, till the treachery of his trusted allies converted him into a soured and disappointed man, whose one object in life was vengeance.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera wished to ask one question about the man who was treated cruelly for breaking a porcelain dish at the palace. He (the speaker) remembered reading in

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\*The amendments here proposed have since been made.

Knox's book that the man was not killed for that offence, but for something else afterwards. Would the lecturer enlighten them on the point?

Mr. Reimers explained that the man was killed for a further offence. The first offence was breaking the porcelain dish. The offence for which he was killed was for writing a letter to the Portuguese, or for reading one from them.

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McCulloch & Co. Exclant. General de la Colina  
e General de la Colina 1872

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## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, June 5th, 1925.*

Present:

His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G.,  
President in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and The Hon'ble Mr. H.

W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-Presidents.

Mr. R. A. Cader	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra.
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton,	„ C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.,
Mr. J. A. de Alwis,	„ C. Suppramaniam,
„ O. A. A. Jayasekara,	„ F. A. Tissavarasingha,
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana,	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
„ A. Mendis,	„ C.C.S.,
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,	„ Mudaliyar.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,

Hony. Secretary.

*Business.*

1. The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman moved and Mr. L. J. B. Turner seconded a resolution relating to the death of the Rt. Revd. Dr. R. S. Copleston, D.D., the late Metropolitan of India, in the following terms:—

“That the Council and members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society place on record the sense of loss which the Society has sustained through the death of the Right Revd. Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston, who was a life member and for 17 years President of this Society.”

3. Some interesting exhibits were on view and an explanation of them was given by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala.

4. Notes were read on “Some recently discovered Portuguese Plans” by Mr. Edmund Reimers and Dr. P. E. Pieris.

5. Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., read his paper entitled “The Identification of the Port of Kalah.”

6. The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, Dr. P. E. Pieris, and Dr. S. C. Paul offered comments.

7. The Chairman, seconded by Advocate F. A. Tissavarasingha, proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturers.

8. A vote of thanks proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Edward W. Perera to His Excellency the Acting Governor for presiding, was carried with acclamation.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, September, 4th, 1925.*

## Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair.	
The Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.	
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,	The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.,
J.P.,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,
Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Guna-	Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.,
wardhana,	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,	
Hony. Secretary.	

*Business.*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on 11th March, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. Messrs. B. L. Sarnelis Silva, James Reginald Toussaint, C.C.S., Maurits Maartensz Anthonisz and Louis Edmund Blazé having been duly proposed were elected as members of the Society.

3. The following list of the members elected by circular since the last Council Meeting was laid on the table:—

Messrs. Paulus Edward Pieris Deraniyagala, B.A., Edward Miles Hare, Sri Nissanka, Joseph E. Rode, Arasunlayittha Rajasingham and S. Victor Edwin Rajapaksa.

4. The second report of the Sub-committee appointed to advise the Council with regard to the compilation of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary and the connected papers were laid on the table.

The report was, with the exception of clause (e) generally accepted.

It was decided that the report be sent back to the Chairman of the Sub-committee requesting him kindly to furnish this Council with full particulars from the financial point of view.

5. A letter dated 18th June, 1925, from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary intimating that Government has decided to give the Society an extra grant of Rs. 500 per annum for a period of three years, was read.

Resolved that the Government be thanked.

6. The purchase of a new typewriter was sanctioned.

7. A paper entitled "Johnston and his Expedition to Kandy in 1804" by Mr. Frederick Lewis was laid on the table.

Resolved that the paper be referred to a Sub-committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva for favour of their opinion as to whether the paper be accepted for reading at a General Meeting and publication in the journal.

8. The printing of the Rules and Regulations together with a list of members, office-bearers, past and present, etc., also circular informing people of the object of the Society and inviting them to join, was considered.

Decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the Honorary Secretaries and the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington.

9. The Honorary Secretary brought to the notice of the Council the promise of a paper entitled "The Visual Apparatus of certain lower vertebrates," illustrated with lantern slides, by Dr. Casey A. Wood.

Resolved that the paper be read before the General Meeting to be held on the 4th December.

10. The ten volumes of Jātakatṭha Kāthā and a copy of Milinda Panha (Pali Text in Siamese Characters) forwarded with memo dated 25th August, 1925, from the Consul for Siam were laid on the table.

It was resolved to acknowledge receipt of the books and to thank the Siamese Government through the Consul for Siam, for the gift to the Society's Library.

11. Journal No. 77—1924 was laid on the table.

12. The date and business for next General Meeting was considered.

It was resolved that the General Meeting be held early in October, if Mr. Lewis' paper is accepted.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 7th, 1925.*

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the Chair.  
 The Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.  
 Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara,     | Mr. R. Maris, M.A.,  
     Mudaliyar,                     | Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,  
 „ W. F. Gunawardhana,         | The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,  
     Gate Mudaliyar,             | Mr. Edmund Reimers,  
     Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Hony. Secretary.

*Business :*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th September, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. A letter dated 9th September, 1925, from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor intimating that His Excellency would lay down his office as President of this Society from the 17th October as he was to leave Ceylon for Hongkong, was read.

Decided that this letter be acknowledged and that the question of a successor to the retiring President, the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, be discussed at the next meeting.

3. A letter dated 2nd September, from Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., re printing charges, was read.

Resolved that a detailed statement of the item (Rs. 340 as author's corrections, additional proof, etc.), be called for before any further action is taken in the matter.

4. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed were elected as members of the Society, viz.,

Messrs. Edward Henry Vanderwall, and Lawrence Perera Warnakula Jayasuriya.

5. A further Report of the Sub-committee appointed to consider the question of compiling a Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, together with a letter dated 1st October, 1925, from the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary forwarding a copy of a letter from Prof. A. A. Macdonell of the Oxford University, to His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, President of this Society, was read and discussed.

Decided that the recommendations of the Sub-committee be accepted.

Resolved that a report be forwarded to the Director of Education and that a copy of the report be sent to His Excellency.

6. A letter dated 11th September, 1925, from the Sub-agent, Imperial Bank of India, Colombo, regarding the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, was read.

Decided to forward copies of letters written by the late Mr. G. A. Joseph to the Sub-agent, Imperial Bank of India, Colombo, when the accounts in question were opened, and to request him to make whatever alterations are necessary and transfer the accounts to "The Hony. Treasurer, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch."

7. A paper entitled "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, Part II." by the Hon'ble Mr. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., submitted for the publication in the Journal of this Society was laid on the table.

Resolved that Mr. Codrington's offer be accepted.

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## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 7th, 1925.*

Present :

His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G.,  
President in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and The Hon'ble Mr. H.  
W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.,	Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.,
Mr. J. W. de Alwis,	Mr. Sri Nissanka,
„ W. F. Gunawardhana,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.,
Gate Mudaliyar,	„ Joseph Pearson, D. Sc.,
„ E. M. Hare,	The Hon'ble Mr. Edward W.
„ M. A. M. Ismail,	Perera,
„ Albert E. Jayasinha,	Mr. W. E. Pine,
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana.	„ H. T. Ramachandra,
„ A. de S. Kanakaratna,	„ H. L. Reed, M.A.,
„ F. Lewis, F.L.S.	The Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn,
The Hon. Mr. L. M.	B.A., C.C.S.,
Maartensz,	Mr. C. Suppramaniam,
Prof. Robert Marrs, M.A.,	„ F. A. Tissaverasingha,
Mr. A. Mendis,	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
	Mudaliyar.
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,	
Hony. Secretaries.	

Visitors: 7 ladies and 12 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 5th June, 1925, were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.
3. Mr. Frederick Lewis read the following paper entitled 'Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804.'

**JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804.**

BY FREDERICK LEWIS, F.L.S.

The Student of the Early British Period in Ceylon has much to do to sift the evidence, often contradictory, of the various writers who have attempted to place in historical order the story of the events they narrate. The light that has been thrown on these subjects by modern research has gone far to modify the idea as expressed and enunciated by those who wrote fifty or a hundred years ago.

Percival for example, gives us quite a different impression of the surrender of Colombo from that we are obliged to form after reading the secret papers that passed between Angelbeek and his Council. Thanks to Mr. Reimers, we are able to place an entirely new construction on the momentous event that culminated with the close of the Dutch Administration, and the birth of our own.

Certainly in that early period, the launching of the new ship of a new Government was a task beset with many complex difficulties, made no lighter by the bad effect produced during the Portuguese and Dutch Administrations upon the people of the country, or by our own ignorance of the Island, and its inhabitants.

In Governor North we find a person of curious mentality: a compound of weakness and refinement. His negotiations with Pilima Talawuwe were most unfortunate, and betrayed not only his want of confidence in himself, but involved the country in a most unhappy and disastrous campaign, that in 1803 left us in gloom, uneasiness, and uncertainty. The apologists



of North rightly point out that the condition of the Kandyan country, at the time of his administration, was intolerable, and that the people were made desperate by the hideous outrages of an inhuman Monarch, so that our intervention, sooner or later, was inevitable, if only to secure peace to the unfortunate people themselves. While this contention is absolutely true, it should not be overlooked that North was perfectly well aware that the King was the nominee of Pilima Talawuwe, and that Pilima Talawuwe had not disguised his own intentions, but sought North's assistance to further this crafty Adigar's designs. Knowing all this; knowing that he was dealing with a man who had avowed his evil intentions, yet North entered into an undertaking that he himself was doubtful of, as is witnessed by his own correspondence with the Marquis of Wellesley. However, for better or worse, the deed was done, and our troops marched to Kandy with a glorious "send off," and within a few weeks they were defeated, discredited, and massacred, and once more the savage King and his Prime Minister were free to swell the torrent of torture, and to harass a timid and kindly people.

The blame for the capitulation of Kandy, and the massacre within and without the city, was laid at the door of the unhappy and ill-starred Major Adam Davie, and for years, and generations, this unfortunate man's name has been held up to execration, while silence shielded those who were responsible for the ill-conceived expedition itself.

Even in his captivity, Davie was communicated with, but not rescued. One of his saddest letters afforded Sir Thomas Maitland the satisfaction of finding Davie's views were a corroboration of his own, respecting Malay troops; but this satisfaction brought no practical help to Davie, who was left to die, a scape-goat.

It is little wonder that the terrible events of June 1803 led to the consideration of a fresh plan of Military operations upon the Kandyan country, that would wipe out the disgrace of that year, and at the same time restore order. The situation at the conclusion of the evacuation of Kandy, may, perhaps be best described in Johnston's own words.

He says:—

"the fate of the troops that occupied the two small posts of Ghirriagama, and Galagedera were never known. Dambadeniya was garrisoned by a few invalids under the command of Ensign Grant.

On the 26th of June he was joined by Lieut. Nixon of the 19th, who had left Kandy during the truce.

On the 29th they were attacked by a great force of Kandyan, many of whom were dressed in the uniform of the soldiers killed in Kandy. Sheltered only by temporary breast-works, Nixon and his little party repulsed repeated assaults, and rejected terms of capitulation, and on the 2nd of July the Garrison was brought off by a body of troops from Colombo, under the command of Capt. Blackall of the 51st. With this fell the last of our posts in the Kandyan country, and in the course of 10 days from the retaking of the Capital, not an inch of ground remained to us beyond our original frontier."

It is not surprising that the country was in a state of gloom, for not only was the Kandyan country in a state of feverish excitement, but our own footing therein had been destroyed, and our troops broken and driven out. Fortunately in August of the same year, the 65th Regiment had arrived from Europe, and so numerical losses were replaced.

General Hay Mac Dowell left on the last day of February 1804, and was succeeded by Major-General David Douglas Wemyss, who appears very shortly after

to have found himself involved in squabbles with Governor North, to the detriment of both.

It is not clear, from such works that I have been able to consult, if Mac Dowall planned a second campaign to Kandy to wipe out the disgrace of 1803, or if this was the work of the eccentric and truculent Wemyss, but whoever was responsible for this abortive step, it is abundantly clear that it was ill-considered, and was cancelled, and had it not been for the extraordinary boldness, pluck, and tenacity of Major Arthur Johnston, another disaster would have overtaken our troops, with the most far-reaching of possible consequences.

It is of this remarkable hero that I propose to set out a short account, basing my facts on his work, entitled a "Narrative of the operations of a detachment in the Expedition to Candy in the year 1804."

I have unfortunately not been able to gather full materials for a Biography of Johnston, but I have succeeded in getting into communication with the Revd. Stanhope E. Ward, who is a relative of our hero, and from whom I have been so fortunate as to secure a portrait of this truly remarkable man. It may not be out of place to relate how I came to get into touch with Mr. Ward.

About two years ago, a lady in Ceylon advertised a collection of old Ceylon books, and among them was the work by Johnston quoted above. I applied to the lady for the book, and was disappointed to find that she had parted with it to the Hon'ble Mr. T. Villiers. Accordingly, to that gentleman I applied for its loan, and with extreme generosity, Mr. Villiers complied with my request, enabling me to make a complete precis of the volume. In so doing, I came across the statement that Johnston was buried in Shalden Church, near Alton, and I immediately communicated with the Vicar, (Mr. R. B. Miller) with a view to getting a photograph of Johnston's monument.

The Revd. Mr. Miller quickly replied, and I am able in this paper to give the inscription exactly as it is upon the stone. But owing to its situation within the Church, the blackness of the stone, and bad light, a satisfactory photograph was impossible.

But Mr. Miller kindly helped me further. He communicated with a Mrs. Shalden Smith—a connexion of Mrs. Johnston's—who in turn wrote to the Revd. Stanhope Ward, and he carried on the correspondence with myself, and generously lent me the picture that I am able to add to this paper, as well as the inscription copied by Mr. Miller. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Miller and Mr. Ward, for these two valuable contributions to our knowledge of a famous person connected with Ceylon 120 years ago, and whose narrative I propose to give in condensed form.

Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Johnston was the eldest son of John Johnston of Clare, County Tyrone, in Ireland. He was born in 1778, and at a very early age he came to Ceylon with the famous 19th Regiment, and shortly after, he was placed on the Governor's Staff. He was with the troops when they entered Kandy during the tragic campaign of 1803, but left it on the 1st of April of that year, as one of a party of sick officers and men who had become victims to the terrible fever that did so much to incapacitate our men during this unhappy war. With him was Adjutant Abraham Robinson of the 51st Regiment, who was so ill that he died on the 7th of April, one day after his return to Colombo, but Johnston was ordered a sea voyage and recovered, so that by his enforced departure he missed the terrible fate that befell his comrades a few weeks later.

Returning again to Ceylon, he was placed in command at Batticaloa, where he was successful in beating off a number of Kandyan attacks on that small and ill-protected fort. It was while at Batticaloa that he received instructions to march on Kandy with his small force, that ultimately, unhelped, performed the

most gallant military expedition in the history of Ceylon, and one that went far to re-establish the lost reputation that our arms had sustained by the tragedy of June 1803.

To form a clear notion of how Johnston came to start on this famous expedition of 1804, it is as well to follow the terms of his orders, as it will be seen that later, after he had practically cut his way through, and saved the reputation of our arms, he was Court-Martialled, so that I quote the communication in full, and which was appropriately marked "Most Secret," and dated Trincomalee 3rd September 1804. It ran as follows:—

Sir.—In the event of your not having marched towards Arrigam, you are directed to have a strong detachment in perfect readiness as soon as possible to march to Candy, by the route of Ouva. To enable you to equip a strong force, a detachment of Europeans and natives will march from this as soon as the weather clears, and when joined by it, you will proceed towards the enemy's country, arranging so as to be within eight days march of the town of Candy on the 20th, which is the day fixed for the commencement of general co-operations.

"You will proceed direct upon Candy, not doing any injury to the country or people, unless opposed, and as different detachments are ordered to march precisely on the 20th for general co-operation for the destruction of the enemy's Capital, the various columns will be put in motion from Colombo, Hambangtotte, Trincomale, Negombo, Chilou, and Pouttalin, the whole will be within 8 days march of Candy on the 20th instant, and on the 28th or 29th the Commander of the Forces expects a general junction on the heights of Candy."

The precise day on which this order reached Johnston is not recorded, but probably it was not later than the 7th September. It was duly signed by the Acting D.A.G., R. Mowbray, and it contained nothing to indicate that there might be some later modification of these very clear and definite instructions.

Following this communication came another, dated September 14th, 1804, in which Johnston was informed that:—

“the Commander of the Forces directs you will on receipt of this, reduce your division to 300 men, as you will then be enabled to have a sufficiency of coolies for the purpose of entering the enemy's dominions.

“As some unforeseen obstacles have prevented the various columns forming the intended junction about the 28th or 29th instant on the heights of Candy agreeably to the instructions transmitted to you on the 3rd instant, you are directed to march on the 20th of this month, bending your course towards the Province of Ouva, and form junction at the entrance of that part with the detachment ordered from Hambangtotte which will march the same day, the 20th instant, by the route of Catregame on the great road leading to Candy, which is frequented by the King for visiting that Temple. . . . .”

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that this second communication in no way countermanded the instructions conveyed in the earlier one, but only ordered a small force to proceed. There is a hint that “unforeseen obstacles” had come about, but nothing to suggest a change in the plan of operations.

According to his orders, Johnston on the 20th of September 1804 embarked that evening on what he calls the “Batticaloa River,” and his troops and stores reached Surcamony, a distance of 27 miles. This spot,

to-day, is practically dry ground, but in 1804 it was a landing place. On the following day the native troops, who came by land, joined up making a force of 305 divided as follows:—

### European Troops.

Royal Artillery	...1	Sergeant and 6 Privates
Of the 19th Regiment	} 2 Lieutenants, 3 Sergeants, 1 Drummer and 64 Privates	
Of the Malay Regiment		...1 Lieutenant
Of the 1st Battalion Bengal Volunteers	} 1 Lieutenant	
Of the 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers		2 Lieutenants

### Of Native Troops.

The Malay Regiment supplied 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 4 Havildars and 46 Privates.

The 1st Battalion Bengal Volunteers supplied 1 Jemadar, 9 Havildars, 2 Drummers and 75 men.

The 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers supplied 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 5 Havildars, 2 Drummers and 76 men.

With Pioneers and coolies, the total force numbered 550. On the 22nd the force marched at daylight, taking a course that would approximate the route of Colonel Maddison's troops, and this was continued on the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th. The following day they reached a place called "Sambapelly" 70 miles from "Souracamony," but I have failed to satisfactorily identify this spot as it may be known to-day. Johnston remarks that for the last 60 miles of this march, that he did not see a house, or a human being. Here, however, he sustained his first loss, as owing to sickness he found it necessary to send back 2 Malays, and 22 of the Bengal troops, thus reducing his effective force to 281. On the 28th the march began at daylight, and the force passed through some deserted villages, but the enemy were seen,

and they fired on our men while descending a deep valley. This appears to be the first instance that Johnston records of an offensive on the part of the enemy. A man was captured, and Johnston remarks that "this was the first native to whom he had been enabled to speak," but he adds significantly, that they had "no news of the Hambangtotta force." They halted at a place he calls "Keiratavally," and describes it as a "neat Candian village, in a well cultivated part of the country." Here he burned down a house belonging to the Dissawa, so that Maddison's force might see that the detachment had passed the place. On the 29th the force marched 16 miles, reaching "Pangaram," "a large village occupied by Lubbies." This last named place is obviously Pangaragamana, on the Mahaweliganga, so I think it may be assumed that "Keiratavally" corresponds with Bibili, which is very nearly 16 miles from the Moorish village of Pangaragamana, and is in the direct course from the road to the Eastern Province, from say about Buttala. Moreover this road communicated with Alut-newara, which for centuries was a place of devotion, as well as a Royal City, so that the main road from there to the next place of religious veneration—Kateragama—is not likely to have been an obscure or little-known path, and Johnston's guides are certain to have known it.

On the last day of September Johnston crossed the Mahaweliganga, and sent a party of 60 men under the command of Lieut. Virgo to Alut-newara, to destroy the Palace there, as it had been turned into a *dépôt*, or storehouse of arms and munitions.

This was successfully carried out.

The location of this Palace can be arrived at by the examination of the plate reproduced in Spilberg's report. According to that quaint illustration, it stood by the side of the main street leading from the venerable Mahiyangana Dagoba to the river, where at the present



day may be seen some fragments of the foundations, now much overgrown with weeds and covered with rubbish.

On the 1st of October the march towards Kandy was resumed, the forces camping "on a small plain called 'Catavelly' a distance of 15 miles." This spot is approximately opposite the present village of Arukattegama. The following day the force marched 8 miles, reaching a ford at "Padrepelly" (Padipellella) where they re-crossed the river. Here it was found that food for the pack bullocks was unprocurable.

At daylight on the 3rd, the troops were again on the march, and sustained an enemy attack; one soldier of the 19th Regiment being killed, and some of the followers wounded. Johnston says that after marching 8 miles, the force ascended the "pass of Ourane ( ? "Angurane" which I think is certainly Hanguranketa), which we found steep, rocky and intersected by deep ravines."

The enemy by now became numerous, and gathered on the higher hills, but from these points they were dislodged by Lieut. Virgo. The march was painful, and after covering a distance of 14 miles, the troops halted at the place Johnston calls "Comanata-ville," and describes as "a small village."

On the 4th the road followed was found to be bad and narrow, and several pack bullocks were lost.

"This road" Johnston remarks "is one of the paths the King of Candy retreats to Ouva by, when he is obliged to fly from his Capital."

In the evening, Johnston camped in a paddy field on the bank of the river, below a steep hill, on which he posted the 3rd Company of Bengal Sepoys under Lieut. Povelary, and the following morning, at daylight the enemy began to cover the bank of the river, opening fire with their "Gingals" on our men.

Two Sepoys were killed, and several were wounded, and also coolies, but the enemy was repulsed by Povelary, sustaining considerable losses in their defeat.

The troops, keeping the river on their right, advanced some 3 miles and approached a large house situated about 100 yards from the bank. The house proved to be full of the enemy who immediately fired on the head of the advancing column, firing from holes in the walls of the building. Opposite to this house, and beyond the river, a battery was placed with one 8 pounder Dutch gun, and a number of "Gingals."

Here our men began to fall fast, so the house was stormed and its materials seized for making rafts, to enable our men to cross the river and attack the battery. The wounded were attended to, and the rest of the day (the 5th October) attempts were made to build a raft, but before our men could take possession of the hill above the house, a volley was fired by the Kandyans, killing non-commissioned Officer Malcolm Campbell, a bombardier of the Royal Artillery.

Johnston specially refers to Campbell in terms of praise, calling him "a particularly valuable man."

By nightfall the enemy had greatly increased in numbers, both on the hills and river bank, while during the night they tried to divert a stream which supplied water to the camp.

On the 6th, Johnston received a report from Lieut. Povelary that heavy firing was heard in the neighbourhood of Kandy, from which Johnston inferred that the troops that were to arrive from other parts of the country, had already reached Katugastota.

The raft that had been made on the previous day was now carried to the river, but it was of such heavy wood that it turned out a failure. At this stage of events, a sentry called out that he saw a boat crossing the river about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile up stream, so Lieut. Vincent of the 19th with some soldiers was ordered to seize it at all risks, but on reaching the spot it was found that the boat had

been removed to the opposite shore. Two of our men—Simon Gleason and Daniel Quin—promptly swam across the river under cover of our fire and brought back the boat. Vincent and 15 or 20 men then crossed over, and marched down the river bank taking the enemy in flank. They fled deserting the battery; our losses by this action being two men wounded. No time now was lost in continuing the march. The battery was found to be “about 200 yards from the Palace of Condasaly,” says Johnston, who adds that “it was the King’s favourite residence, a beautiful building, richly ornamented with presents received by the Kings of Candy from the Portuguese, Dutch and English.”

“This Palace had been carefully preserved by General Mac Dowall in 1803, and the King had availed himself of the respect shown to it at that time to make it a principal Depôt of arms and ammunition, which I was unable to remove, and it being my object to destroy wherever found, I was under the necessity of setting fire to the building.” After accomplishing this painful feat, the march was continued towards Kandy, Johnston fully believing that he would speedily join the other forces he was led to expect.

About half way between the Palace and Kandy, a big Dutch gun was found. This was being taken up by the enemy to a battery on the river. Our men, in advance, got within range of a Temple, above Kandy, where they were fired upon by a volley of musketry, but this attack did not last long, as the enemy were next seen flying through the streets in confusion.

A party of Sepoys under command of Lieut. Rogers was next ordered to occupy the heights commanding the town and Johnston significantly remarks “our troops once more took possession of the capital, which they found, as usual, entirely deserted by its inhabitants.”

Finding the Palace in Kandy the most favourable situation for resisting a further attack, Johnston took possession of it, and waited with anxiety for the arrival of the other forces, "according to plan."

The 7th of October was spent in Kandy waiting. A story was brought by a Malay Officer that 6 Divisions had entered the Kandyan country, but that they had returned, and the sounds of cannon that Povelary had heard, was the firing by the Kandyans themselves as a mark of rejoicing at our departure and embarrassed present situation.

On the 8th Povelary was sent out with troops to the hills all round the town, to ascertain whether a camp or any part of our troops could be discovered, but this search was fruitless, and only a report was brought in that our forces had been repulsed. By this time the stock of provisions naturally had become reduced, and ammunition was likewise diminished. Nor were there wanting signs of the massacre of the previous year, as such things as hats, shoes, and accoutrements of the murdered men, were conspicuously displayed.

Johnston's position was one of acute anxiety by now. He had the strongest reason for anticipating a large force of our men to arrive, as his orders had definitely led him to expect, but none appeared, nor could he get the smallest rumour of their advent. Clearly he could expect no help from within, nor could provisions be obtained from the enemy. The position was daily and hourly becoming more and more dangerous, while a repetition of the calamity that attended the first blunder, appeared to be a certainty with this little force, unless aid came to it at once.

Disturbed as Johnston was by the terrible situation, he found himself placed in, yet he avoided a Council of War, and even assumed an air of gaiety to keep up appearances! All this time he scrupulously avoided destroying or damaging any of the enemy's houses or property, and the town was left in peace and quietness.

At length Johnston decided to cross the river, and leave Kandy behind him, and take up his position on the opposite side of the Mahaweliganga, so that if troops arrived, they could rejoin and retake the city.

On the 9th of October 1804, what was practically a retreat, commenced. Outside the town, the troops passed a number of skeletons hanging from trees, the remains of our massacred men. On reaching the bank of the river they found the ground still littered with the bones of the victims, but the stream being in flood, the force had to encamp on the very spot where our men had been butchered 15 months before.

The work of constructing rafts was now begun, while the enemy massed on the opposite bank. By 3 p.m. two rafts were completed, but so strong was the current, that the tow ropes parted, and the rafts had to be punted over. Rogers, late in the evening, crossed over with a few European troops, and drove off a strong party of the enemy, while during the greater part of the night our invalids were moved.

On the 10th the river had fallen somewhat, and by 4 p.m. our men got across, but the tents had to be abandoned.

The stock of ammunition by this time was reduced to two small barrels containing 800 rounds each, and several of our troops were without cartridges.

No news reached Johnston of any other detachments arriving, the retreat by the Trincomalee road began, otherwise the posts of "Geeriagam" and "Garlgeddray," would have had to be stormed. It was also impossible to get the bullocks over, so they were left behind, and each soldier was ordered to take six days rice supply on his back, and abandon the rest of the stores.

That night was passed in incessant rain at the top of the pass, and so heavy was the rain, that the men were unable to cook their food, while they could enjoy hearing trees being felled to block their way in the valley below. On the 11th, after much fighting, in which 5 Europeans,

8 Sepoys, and 30 followers were killed and wounded, the troops reached the foot of the pass. Unfortunately Lieut. Vincent was one of the wounded, being severely damaged in the thigh. The same night they passed the ruins of Fort Mac Dowall at Matale, and halted in darkness. On the 12th the march was continued without stopping, but unhappily Lieut. Smith of the 19th was severely wounded in the breast.

Late the same evening, a fortified hill was discovered, and this had to be carried at the point of the bayonet, involving a loss of 2 Europeans killed and 5 Sepoys.

Here, at the summit of the hill the road was completely closed and the guides were lost, two having been killed and one bolting. The enemy now became very determined, as they were led by Malays and Gun Lascars who formerly belonged to us. The attack was made from both the front and rear, causing the coolies to panic. The enemy succeeded in capturing two wounded Europeans, to add to their pride. This happened on the 13th, after we had found the path where the guides were lost on the previous day.

The troops were halted for a brief respite, and Lieut. Virgo was directed to go forward to order back the advance Guard, but as he did not return, a Corporal was sent to know the cause of the delay, and to bring back a part of the 19th Regiment to assist in a charge on the enemy. The Corporal returned alone as he was unable to find our advance Guard, so he was again sent forward, and on his return he reported that he had gone 3 miles without finding any traces of the lost men. The enemy now began to mass in the rear, so led by Lieuts. Povelary and Smith (of the Bengal Sepoys), our men charged and routed the Kandians, who by this time had greatly increased their numbers.

It might be mentioned, that up to this time, the only food our men had was raw rice, as cooking was impossible and weather conditions had spoiled the rice as well.

On the 14th no signs of the advance Guard were found, and our men passed the night in a forest, without any form of shelter. The enemy attack however had lessened.

On the 15th Johnston records that the enemy fire was decreasing, and that the troops "halted at a small village, and obtained shelter and some refreshment." The name of the village is not stated, and we are left to guess what the "refreshments" were like.

On the 16th the Trincomalee Road was found, and the troops halted at a small village, not far from the Minerai Tank, as also were found Lieut. Virgo with the advanced Guard, but without any trace of Lieuts. Vincent and Smith. Smith was reported to be dead, and had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of these two gallant men, Johnston writes, "Thus were lost two excellent officers in the prime of life, who had conducted themselves with a degree of zeal, intrepidity, and perseverance, highly creditable to themselves and consolatory to their friends."

Johnston considered Lieut. Virgo was the cause of this disaster by not bringing back the Guards, so he placed him under arrest. Virgo pleaded that his men refused to carry out his orders as he belonged to another Corps, while the Guards alleged that they lost their way, and were nearly starved, as the coolies had deserted, leaving them so exhausted that they could hardly walk, and having no means of carrying the sick, they were forced to abandon them. It was by mere chance that they found the road. Ultimately, Virgo was released, and the matter referred to the Commanding Officer at Trinco.

All the 17th was passed in marching, and the night spent in the forest, but molestation from the enemy had ceased. Next day (the 18th) Kantalai was reached, and the unfortunate worn-out men obtained some shelter. Johnston, so far, had performed the greater part of this journey on foot, and the retreat without shoes, as his

feet had become so inflamed that he could not wear them. He also was suffering from severe dysentery, and for the last two days of the march he was carried in his cloak fastened to a stick.

In this terrible condition, prostrate with illness, cut and torn by thorns and rough travelling, did Johnston arrive at Tanglegam, where he was met by some Officers from Trincomalee who had come there on hearing some rumour that a force of our men were coming in from Kandy. The news that Johnston learned on his arrival I had better put down in his own words. He says:—

“Heard for the first time that it was not intended that I should proceed to Candy; that the General on arriving at Jaffna had found obstacles to the combined attack which he considered insurmountable, and that the orders of the 8th\* were intended as a countermand of the previous plan, and that my going to Candy was deemed a disobedience of orders; that it was merely meant that the Divisions should enter those parts of the enemy's territory adjacent to their respective districts, and return after laying waste the country, that the other five Divisions had accordingly made these incursions, and had long since returned; and that the Government having learned from the Singalese on the borders of my detachment having been in Candy, they despaired of our ever returning.”

No analysis is necessary to show that the orders given to Johnston could, in any way, bear any other construction than that placed upon them by Johnston himself. Had he taken any other course, he could have justly been charged with disobedience of orders, but for all that, as if to add a final crowning act of folly, quite apart from its disgraceful tyranny, this brave soldier who had re-established our Military prestige

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\*It is not clear to what “orders” this refers, as it will be seen that Johnston only refers to those of the 3rd and 14th September, and the instructions of the later date leave no grounds for assuming any change of plan.



was, in his own words, "ordered round to Columbo where a Court of Inquiry was held upon my conduct." "The decision," Johnston simply concludes by saying, was, "that I had not disobeyed my orders in going to Candy!"

It would be difficult to suppose that any other decision could have been arrived at than this, and it may be noted, that so far as the instructions to Johnston are concerned, it is significant that a Commander sent out with specific instructions as to the object to be achieved, should not have been also instructed to rescue or make inquiries regarding the unhappy Adam Davie, who, as the Government probably knew, was still a captive, though certainly there is evidence to show that for some time Davie was believed to be dead. It would seem that our Military Commanders were quite as ready to abandon Johnston and his followers to a similar fate, as they abandoned Davie too, if we are to judge by the concluding remarks made to Johnston by the Officers who met him at Tamblegam.

The contrast to this miserable performance was the heroic conduct of Johnston himself, and it is little wonder that Major Forbes was told that the natives ascribed supernatural power to the intrepid man who saved the reputation of our arms.

Fortunately for the country, in the year following these events, Wemyss left Ceylon, so with feelings of relief we follow the little I am able to record of the career of the man he left to his own particular fate.

The exact date of Johnston's return to England I have been unable to trace, but I find that he later held the appointment of Assistant Commandant at the Royal Military College at Farnham.

He married Martha, the eldest daughter of Thomas Smith of Shalden, in Hampshire, on the 10th February 1817, and I find in the Register of Burials (for a copy of which I am indebted to the Revd. R. B. Miller) that he

was buried on the 11th June, 1824. The marriage entry briefly says that the parties were of the Parish of Shalden, and the ceremony was performed by T. S. Smith, Minister of Upton Gray.

The witnesses who signed the Register were J. Ward, Samuel Smith and Thomas Smith.

The first Edition of Johnston's "Narrative" was published in 1810, but I have not seen it. His "New Edition" was published in Dublin by James Mc Glashan of 50, Upper Sacville Street, and by W. S. Orr & Co., of Paternoster Row.

This Edition is dated 1854, and consequently must have been produced by some of Johnston's friends or relations, seeing that he died 30 years previously.

It is dedicated to Sir David Dundas, K.B., General and Commander-in-Chief. The dedication is not dated.

Johnston belonged to the ancient house of Loverhay, a branch of the Annandale family, that left Dumfriesshire in the beginning of the 17th Century, and shortly before his death he appears to have begun a contest claiming his rights.

It will be recalled that in the Maskeliya District, is an Estate named Annandale, that in 1875 belonged to a Mr. Johnston at that time. He was, I believe, a relative of our hero, but I have no particulars of the relationship.

The following is the inscription on Johnston's monument, and thanks to Mr. Miller, I am able to give it in its exact wording, and line by line.

It reads as follows:—

SACRED  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
**LIEUT.-COL. ARTHUR JOHNSTON,**  
OF CLARE IN THE COUNTY OF TYRONE, IRELAND, FORMERLY OF THE 19TH REGIMENT OF FOOT, AND 2ND CEYLON BATTALION, LATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT OF ROYAL CORSICAN RANGERS, AND ASSISTANT COMMANDT. AT THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE AT FARNHAM.

His services in Ceylon, (where he signalized himself on many occasions, but particularly in the command of an Expedition to Candy in the Year 1804, which place he captured under difficulties the most appalling), laid the foundation of a disease which after many years of severe suffering terminated his life on the 6th of June 1824. He was born on the 7th of July 1778, and married Martha Daughter of Thos. Smith Esq., by whom this tribute of affection is erected to his

MEMORY

Students of Cordiner's work will perhaps have noticed that though he mentions the fact that Johnston left Kandy with a party of sick troops on the 1st of April 1803, that he does not refer to his heroic dash of the following year, though he records that in March 1804 the Kandyans "made preparations for a general invasion of the British Settlements." He also follows this passage with the next, which says "This, however, was prevented by a general attack made by us on their own country, which proved on every side successful, and terminated with scarcely any loss on our part."

Still later, Cordiner tells us of a "general invasion of our territories by the Candians, in *February, 1805.*"

It is singular therefore that so careful an Historian as the Revd. James Cordiner was, that Johnston's wonderful Expedition should not have been referred to.

It is true that Cordiner left Ceylon in 1804, and probably was unaware of the details of this remarkable feat of Johnston's, but it is no less singular that when referring to events of a year later, that he made no comment on such a gallant deed.

Dr. John Davy, writing several years later, devotes a paragraph of his sketch of the History of Ceylon to Johnston, and makes the pertinent remark with regard to the "desultory warfare that followed," that nothing presents itself deserving of being adverted to, with the exception of the gallant conduct of a detachment under the command of Captain Johnston, that in the latter end of 1804 penetrated into the interior, and without any of the support and co-operation that he had a right to expect, marched through the heart of the country from Batticaloa to Kandy, which it entered, and from Kandy to Trincomalee, overcoming every obstacle that it had to encounter, and proudly displaying what valour is capable of accomplishing when directed by talent." It will be noticed that Davy's reference to what Johnston "had a right to expect," indicates that the scandalous bungling of Wemyss was in his mind as he wrote.

Knighton in his History of Ceylon, while carefully condemning the unfortunate Major Davie, does justice to Johnston, concluding his remarks in almost the identical words of Dr. Davy. Major Forbes, in his "Eleven Years in Ceylon," writes glowingly of Johnston's achievement, but is silent as to its conclusion. Perhaps the gallant Forbes's spirit of loyalty to the Army, led him to preserve silence over this unhappy series of blots, rather than expose their real authors. Even Sir James Emerson Tennent, while not sparing the Hon'ble Mr. Fredric North for the "diplomatic errors, and the sanguinary results by which they were followed," says that Johnston was "directed to march from Batticaloa

and make his appearance at Kandy on a given day, and this order, by some strange accident, *it was omitted to countermand.* ”

I am conscious that the foregoing sketch is both brief and imperfect, but an attempt has been made, that possibly others may be able more completely to amplify than myself, to place on record the remarkable achievements of a singularly daring and brilliant soldier.

My obligations to the Revd. Mr. Miller for his cordial assistance cannot be too strongly emphasized, as it was by his instrumentality that I got into touch with Johnston's relative, the Revd. Stanhope E. Ward, to whom this Society is indebted for the portrait I have the honour now to submit, and which I believe, as far as Ceylon is concerned, to be unique.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera asked whether there is definite evidence of Johnston reaching the town of Kandy. By the word “Kandy” in his book, Johnston might have referred to the outlying Kandyan districts. Marshall stated, that Johnston did not actually reach the town of Kandy.

Mr. Lewis, in reply, referred to Johnston's own narrative the words of which he (Mr. Lewis) had copied: “Finding the Palace of Kandy the most favourable position for resisting further attacks, I took up the position.”

Dr. Andreas Nell regretted that Mr. Lewis had not amplified his paper with a map. He thought that the Palace referred to was a *Gabadagé* to which the King used to retire. It was also noticeable that Johnston did not mention the wooden bridges which were destroyed only after the rebellion of 1817.

The Chairman remarked that Dr. Nell's suggestion was a valuable one. Johnston must have gone to Alutnuwara before he went to the Mahiyangana Dágoba. He thought the paragraph needed some revision.

Mr. Lewis said that Johnston himself did not go to Alutnuwara. He sent Lieut. Virgo there. The first place Johnston occupied was Pangaragamana. The palace at Alutnuwara was in fact an arsenal. He therefore destroyed it, but himself did not go there.

The Chairman: In that case why did he cross the Mahaweli-ganga?

Mr. Lewis explained that Johnston crossed it to avoid another difficult crossing. He said that a map that Mr. Codrington had would explain it.

Mr. Codrington produced the map.\*

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\* Reproduced at page 69 below.

The Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn said that many years ago he had read Johnston's narrative and found something therein which showed the character of the man. Johnston himself had written about clothes suitable for troops in the tropics. He recalled how his troops wore leather shakos, the brass plates of which got so hot that they damaged the leather. The troops were punished if their leather shakos were spoilt and to avoid such punishment, they used to take out the brass plates and carry them in their handkerchiefs. This showed that Johnston was a man who cared for the welfare of his troops.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana referred to some other passages in Mr. Lewis' paper as confirming the theory that Johnston captured Kandy.

Dr. Nell pointed out that Johnston approached Kandy not by the present route, but by the old road. The description given by Johnston could be followed even to this day. This showed the necessity for a map.

The Chairman said that it was clear that the result of the discussion indicated that Johnston got to Kandy. This was clear also from Mr. Codrington's map. Johnston did not go to Alutnuwara in order to avoid a difficult crossing of the river. As regards the point raised by Mr. Southorn, it was interesting to note that British troops had to fight in the same sort of uniform for nearly fifty years afterwards.

In conclusion, he proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis presented to the Museum the photograph of Colonel Johnston to be kept with that of the unfortunate Adam Davy.\*

His Excellency said he much regretted that this would be the last occasion upon which he would be present at a meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Having that fact in view the Council of the Society had asked him to deliver a farewell presidential address. He had felt constrained to comply with that request, but had done so with no little misgiving because he realised how little time he would have to do justice to the subject he had selected. He would have liked to have written out an address and to have read it, since what he had to say would then have been less discursive and more accurate. It would, too, have been a mark of greater respect for the Society. It was necessary for him to apologise for not having been able to consult his own desires in this matter, but he had had no leisure and the utmost he had been able to do was to find a short time that afternoon to put together his ideas on the subject upon which he wished to speak.

The subject he had chosen might be called "Prolegomena to the Scientific Study of the Sinhalese Language." He proposed to speak of the Sinhalese language, rather than of the Tamil language not because the Tamil language interested him less—in fact he had spoken with students in Ceylon who believed that Tamil was the oldest language in the world and therefore one which was well calculated to attract the special attention of one

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\* The photograph is reproduced below, at page 69.

who, like himself, had made a hobby of comparative philology—but, because, after all, Tamil was an Indian language. Any scientific study of the Tamil language ought to be undertaken by the Government of the Madras Presidency, which was certainly more wealthy than this Colony and to which the study of that language was obviously more appropriate. On the other the Sinhalese language was peculiar to Ceylon and had a unique claim upon the attention of the Colony as being a distinctively Ceylonese product. The Sinhalese language, for this reason, must clearly occupy first place in this Society's linguistic studies, both from the point of view of the Government and of the people. He had used the word "prolegomena" advisedly because he had, himself, no knowledge of the Sinhalese language. There had been a time on his first arrival in Ceylon, when he had thought he would like to learn Sinhalese, but he had soon found out that the Colonial Secretary in Ceylon had no time for extraneous occupations, that his nose was kept pretty constantly to the grindstone and that he must forego all literary and linguistic occupations whatsoever.

It was therefore, necessary for him to approach the subject from the outside. Now there were certain advantages in doing that because no language could be scientifically studied without a knowledge of other languages as well. Perhaps he could make clear what he had in mind by a simile. If they applied an eye to a telescope and looked through that telescope they saw in great detail that which came within the field of vision of the telescope, but they did not see the telescope itself. Similarly when studying a language such as Sinhalese through a Sinhalese medium they did not see the language itself, but only as it were, the field of vision represented by the past literature of the language and the knowledge embodied therein.

By way of example Mr. Clementi went on to refer to the Chinese language and to Sanscrit. No language had been the subject of such profound study as Chinese by those whose mother tongue it was, but the scholars who had studied it had been almost exclusively Chinese and men who often knew no language whatever except their own. A study of Chinese was of the utmost importance to a Chinaman for many reasons. Under Chinese Law almost every offence was punishable by a given number of blows from the smaller or larger bamboo. But every Chinese scholar who had attained to a standard of education which approximated to our degree of B.A. was exempt from any form of bamboozing, unless an appeal was first made to the Emperor to deprive him of his degree. Therefore the goal of every Chinese man's ambition was to become a student and take the degree.

There were wonderful Chinese dictionaries, encyclopædias, and other works; the language had been studied backwards and forwards through a Chinese medium; the literature of the country was simply amazing; but, nevertheless, it was the fact

that no scientific knowledge of the language had been obtained until the latter half of the 19th century when European scholars had brought Western knowledge to bear upon it, and had studied it from the philological point of view. Then had opened an entirely new phase in the study of the Chinese language.

Similarly with Sanscrit. Sanscrit had a vast literature, numerous dictionaries and grammars of the language had been compiled and a great deal of ingenuity had been brought to bear upon the study of Sanscrit through a Sanscrit medium. But it was not until the second half of the 19th century that the principles of comparative philology were applied to the subject. Intellectuals trained in the West, and possessing a knowledge of Western languages both ancient and modern, were then brought to bear upon the scientific aspect of Sanscrit and it was only this had been done that any very great progress towards a better understanding of the science of that language was made.

Therefore, he said with great confidence, that if the Sinhalese language was to be studied scientifically, it would have to be studied not only through the medium of the Sinhalese language, but through the medium of English and other foreign languages as well. For this reason he had been very glad to see that in some of the Pirivenas in the Western and Southern Provinces the English language was now being taught. Until the students in the Pirivenas were able to make use of the vast store of knowledge which had been collected by Western students of comparative philology and until it was possible for them to apply this knowledge to the study of the Sinhalese language he did not think that very much scientific progress was to be expected.

In order that a language might be studied scientifically certain preliminary work had to be done. First of all inscriptions had to be collected, compiled, arranged and co-ordinated. This, he was happy to say, was being done already and he understood that the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* would be completed before long. He hoped the work would not fail to include a complete index of all the words occurring in those inscriptions.

Then it was necessary to compile a complete and representative corpus of Sinhalese prose and verse. What he had in mind was something much on the lines of the Loeb Classical Library in America. It would be necessary carefully to select the best Sinhalese historical records, prose works and poems and to publish the original side by side with an English translation and with a few absolutely necessary notes. Such a work as that was essential as a preliminary to any scientific study of the language. Here again a full and complete index of all the words contained in the prose, verse and other works was imperative.

When they had books such as these on which to found the dictionary of the Sinhalese language which the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society had in mind, they would be able to proceed from a firm basis and compile a really valuable and satisfactory work.



He felt very strongly that the dictionary must be an etymological dictionary, because it was only through such a work as this that they could hope to reveal the true and real meaning of words and illustrate their little understood historical origin. By way of illustration Mr. Clementi referred to the word "tea." There were originally only two parts of the world in which tea was indigenous—namely the Fukien coast of China and Assam. It was first "discovered" on the China coast and the Fukienese who inhabited that part of the coast used the word "tea" to describe the plant. Now the Northern Chinese who wrote the word in the same way pronounced it "cha." This accounted for both the English word "tea" and its wrongly pronounced equivalent "tay." It also accounted for the French form "thé" and the Russian and Italian variants which are derived from the pronunciation "cha." This one historical fact, therefore, threw a flood of light upon the word.

Mr. Clementi quoted a large number of other examples to prove the value of historical details as a guide to the proper understanding of words. He hoped this phase of the subject would not be overlooked when the proposed dictionary of the Sinhalese language came to be compiled.

If the dictionary was to be a success it would be necessary to bring to bear upon its compilation many men of trained intelligence and he was glad to know that the Colony would soon have the pleasure of welcoming Prof. Geiger, a very eminent Scholar who possessed a profound knowledge of the Pali, Sanscrit and Sinhalese languages. He hoped Professor Geiger would not be allowed to go away without giving the Society his views as to the lines upon which the dictionary could best be prepared.

When they had compiled their dictionary they would have to go a step further and prepare an historical grammar. There were, in existence, many notable examples of such grammars, notably Dr. Whitney's Sanscrit Grammar and Brochet's Historical French Grammar, and when they had a reliable etymological dictionary the preparation of such a grammar ought to present very little difficulty. The work might be well undertaken by the same body of men who had prepared the dictionary.

All this business of analysing a language and picking it to pieces should be, of course, preparatory to a wider process of synthesis. Having pulled the language to pieces, and having obtained a thorough grasp of its complicated mechanism, as it were, they would get to understand it and would lay the foundation for a fuller and wider comprehension of the language. This should lead to the building up of a really fine modern Sinhalese literature. A language was, of course, a vehicle through which they wished to express ideas and ideals which would be of lasting value to the race. He therefore hoped that, in years to come, they would raise up a new Sinhalese literature—both prose and verse—which would be entirely worthy of this Island and which would be based on a thorough knowledge of the language and its history.







Block by Survey Dept. Ceylon,

Lieut.-Col ARTHUR JOHNSTON.



In proposing a vote of thanks to the retiring President, His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, Dr. Paul E. Peiris said that the members of the Royal Asiatic Society wished to thank His Excellency very heartily for making time to be present there that night and after hearing his short address they realised more than ever how very much they should lose by his departure from the country. His Excellency had occupied that presidential chair for a very much shorter period than they hoped he would occupy it, when they unanimously invited him to be their President. As he pointed out, circumstances had been too severe, and he had not been able to give that personal contribution towards the labours of the Society as some of his predecessors had done. Yet as he was speaking that night it was borne home to them with very great emphasis that he had grasped one side of the East which the average public official did not grasp. There were many public officials who were masters of one phase of the life of the East, and it was not always the pleasant phase, that they were masters of. His Excellency with his great attainments and wide experience had grasped the finest phase of their Oriental life. (Applause.) They felt very much that if he had continued to stay with them, he would have got some good out of them yet. (Applause.) His Excellency was occupying the chair for the last time; he never again could be their President; but he (the speaker) was sure that he was voicing the hopes of every member of that Society when he looked forward to seeing His Excellency fill that chair many more times, but in another capacity. (Applause).

He moved that "this Society do place on record an expression of its lively and grateful appreciation of the services rendered by His Excellency the retiring President."

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## NOTES ON CEYLON TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY, II.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

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In Volume XXIX, No. 75, of this Journal an attempt was made to investigate the topography of Ceylon as revealed by the civil wars leading to the union of the whole country under the sovereignty of Parákrama Báhu I. In the present paper the same line of enquiry is continued in connection with the great Ruhuna rebellion against the new king's authority, led by Sugalá Déví, mother of the late Mánábharaṇa. This prince had inherited the whole of Ruhuna, though the divisions of Doḷosdahas and Aṭadahas with their respective capitals Mahánágakula (Mánávulu) and Uddhanadvára (Udundora) still existed.

It is convenient to record the preliminary operations against the rebels before attempting to make any identification of the places named in the Mahāvamsa. We first of all read (LXXIV. 44) that the Sinhalese and Keraḷas at Koṭṭhasáraka and other places (Koṭṭhasárádhi vásino) with the Velakkára force, on hearing of the rebellion, rose against the king, but were reduced to submission and punished. Thereafter the Commander-in-Chief Rakkha set out from Poḷonnaruwa and gave battle at Barabbala to the Ruhuna soldiers, who declared "While we live he shall not cross the boundary of our country and come hither." Fighting also took place at Kaṇṭakavana (\*Kaṭuvana) at Ambala and at the fortress Savan. In front of this last

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\*An asterisk before a Sinhalese name indicates a possible translation of the Pali.

(purato) lay the stronghold Divácandantabátava, and beyond this “seven strongholds that no man could reach, the one after the other, in a forest one or two leagues (*gávuta*) in extent; and both sides of the road that led thereto lay between great rocks, in the middle whereof they cut down great trees. . . . at certain intervals.” The fighting continued here “for many months” (LXXIV, 50-66). Bhútádhikári, “who lived in the king’s palace,”<sup>1</sup> was now dispatched to assist Rakkha: the seven forts were destroyed and the army fought its way to the village Kiṇṣukavatthu (\*Kéla-watta), Vaṭarakkhathali (\*Vaṭarakgoḍa), the village Dáṭhavadḍhana or Dáṭhacavadḍhana, and the village Sahodará. Thence Rakkha sent a division against the enemy force remaining at Lokagalla (Loggala). This force, though reduced to straits, was not conquered and the king’s troops therefore rejoined the main body, and the whole army marched to Majjhimagámaka (Meḍagama), and fought near the village Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka with the enemy “who had made a firm resolve with their chief captains and officers at Lokagalla, saying ‘the venerable Tooth-relic and the sacred Bowl-relic shall we not allow them to seize.’” The next step was the capture of Sugalá Deví’s capital Udundora, whereupon the queen fled with the Relics to Uruvela (LXXIV, 67-88).

The “great tank Uruvela” was one of those “built” by Parákrama Báhu I. in Ruḥuṇa (Mhv., LXXIX, 83): the Sinhalese name given in the corresponding passage of the Pújávaliya is Ētumala. It is therefore the great breached tank now called Ētimolé, some five miles south-east from Monarágala. We thus have the *terminus ad quem* fixed. The capital Udundora cannot have been at a very great distance from Ētimolé, and we are helped

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1. For Bhútádhikári, see Ceylon Antiquary, vol. IX, p. 185.



to its identification by the statement in the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya* in connection with this campaign that the Tooth and Bowl-relics were hidden in the neighbourhood of the mountain or hill *Amaragiri* of *Udundora* in *Ruhuna*.<sup>2</sup> The name *Amaragiri* has disappeared from common use, but Mr. C. W. Bibile, *Ratamahatmaya* of *Wellassa*, informs me that it was the old designation of *Monarágala* and supports this by the following verse:—

අමර ගිරි නමින් නිබු අරණෙහි පොර	ණ
මයුර ගිරි නමක් උනෙ කොහොමද කල	ණ
මයුර සහ නෙරිඳු වැඩසිටියෙන් එ නැ	ණ
මයුර ගිරි නමක් නැබුණි ඒ බැව්	ණ

"Friend, how was the name *Mayuragiri* given to the forest in ancient time called *Amaragiri*? Because the Elder *Mayurasata* (*sic*) dwelt in that place, it was called *Mayuragiri*."

We can now retrace our steps and endeavour to ascertain the route by which *Rakkha* led his army to *Udundora*. He must have advanced from *Polonnaruwa* either directly across country or along the valley of the *Mahawelligaṅga*. In either case he would have crossed the river at *Dástoṭa*, as from general considerations of the history I think that we may take it as a certainty that the rebellion had made little or no impression in that part of *Ruhuna* immediately subject to the influence of *Polonnaruwa*. From the *Mahawelligaṅga* valley to *Monarágala* an army can only advance by two main routes:—(1) up the *Badulla* valley or that of the *Loggal Oya*, descending on *Monarágala* by the *Passara* gap, and (2) the *Uraniya* road through *Hépola*, once a *kaḍuwata*, to *Meḍagama*

## 2. Variants are :

රුහුණ උදුමරගිරි අමරගිරි පමන සමිපයෙන්
රුහුණ උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි පුර සමිපයෙහි
රුහුණ උදුන්දෙර අමරගිරි නම් සමිපයෙහි

*Udumbaragiri* or *Dimbulágala* is mentioned in the next section of the *Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya*. It is clearly out of place in this campaign.

in Wellassa. This last route avoids the difficulties of the two valleys just mentioned and as far as Bibilé keeps to the foothills of the main mountain system. It seems very improbable that the royal troops would attempt to force the passage of these mountain valleys, held by the enemy, and we may dismiss this course from our consideration. On the other hand, the Uraniya road would have involved Rakkha in a march across the enemy's front, a difficult military operation. By the rules of warfare he should have reduced the rebels on his right flank first of all or have posted strong bodies of troops at the mouths of the valleys. But from the narrative he apparently did not undertake any operations against the enemy on the hills until he reached Sahodará, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Bibilé, and then without much success. The alternative and direct route from Dástoṭa to Meḍagama presents no difficulties on this score, but there would appear to be no situation where the road runs "between great rocks" and where an army could have been held up for many months. Further the army could hardly have remained for so long a time in a country impracticable to large bodies of men owing to its waterless state during a great part of the year. On the whole, I am inclined to the theory that Rakkha advanced along the line of the present Uraniya road, and that the rebels acted much in the same way as the Kandyan in later times, offering little resistance until they had involved the enemy in difficult country. I would locate the seven forts in the neighbourhood of Hépoḷa. But the army clearly was not surrounded, as, had it not been revictualled, it would have been forced to capitulate. Why then was it not attacked in the rear by the rebels from the hills? And again why did it not try another route in the comparatively flat country? To the first

question we may reply that in guerilla fighting the rules of regular warfare do not always apply, and further for all we know Rakkha may have guarded the mouths of the valleys; the second may be answered by pointing to the waterless state of the country. One argument in favour of the Uraniya route has to be mentioned; this is that apparently it was a well-known road from Mágama to the King's Country (Appendix I). It must be admitted, however, that the royal army's route is still uncertain until it is found in the neighbourhood of Bibilé. The difficulties of a thickly wooded country are illustrated by the statement of Mahávaṇṣa, LXXV, 73, as to the Doṇivagga (Denawaka)—Navayojana road, which does not run through any really difficult terrain otherwise.

One point requires elucidation. In the Ceylon Antiquary, vol. X, p. 95, I located the country of Koṭṭhasáraka or Koṭṣara in this very locality, on the ground that the Koṭṣaraṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota lay between Sorabora Paṅgaragammaṇa and Uva and that Koṭṣara Piyaṅgalu Viháre still exists in the Kehelattawela wasama of Wégam Pattu. Parákrama Báhu had quelled the insurrection of his mercenaries in Koṭṭhasáraka before Rakkha set out, and if this country lay where I had supposed there would have been no difficulty in skirting the mountains. At the time I felt that it was unlikely that a point so far away from the rest of the fortified posts mentioned in Mahávaṇṣa, LXXXIII, 21, was occupied by Mágha's troops. Since making the above identification, which is, I think, correct for the Ruhuna Koṭṣara, I have found a passage in the Mahávaṇṣa (LXXI, 6), where it is recorded that the body of Gaja Báhu, who died at Gaṅgātāṭaka or Kantalai was taken by his ministers to Koṭṭhasáraka. This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantalai and was in the King's Country.

If the present argument that the route taken by Rakkha was that by Hépola and Mēdagama of Wellassa is sound, Savan may be Hawana-veva situated some 5 miles E.N.E. of Paṅgaragammana, and a little to the north of the existing Uraniya road: I do not, however, press this identification. Lokagalla undoubtedly is the valley of the Loggal Oya with the Madulsima range and it was against the enemy lodged in these hills that the division was dispatched by Rakkha, perhaps from the direction of Bibilé. The expedition was a failure and the rebels poured down the Passara gap to attack the royal troops near Kaṇṭaka-dvāra-vātaka. This place I take to be the still existing Kaṭuṇṇella ("thorn-screen" = Kaṇṭaka-dvāra, "thorn-gate") just south of Daṁbagalla. Rakkha thus did not advance directly to the south from Mēdagama, but turned to the south-east. This, we shall see, was the then existing high road.

While these operations were in progress, the king sent Kittī Adhikāri and Kittī Jīvita-potthaki to reduce the enemy in Dīghavāpi, that is the country round the present Mahakandiya in Batticaloa District. They presumably passed to the north of Gunner's Quoin, as they went through Erāhulu, the Erāvulu raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota, if, as seems probable, this name survives in the modern Éráúr. The places between Erāhulu and Dīghavāpi where actions are recorded are Givulaba village, Uddhagāmaka (\*Uḍagama), Hīhobu and Kirinda (Mhv., LXXIV, 89-98). There are two mis-translations on the part of Wijesinha in this section: in v. 97 "three leagues" should read "one *gāvuta*," and in v. 98 for "returned to the place Dīghavāpi, and encamped there" should be substituted "encamped at Dīghavāpi." The operations in this part of the country were brought to a close by an order of the king that

Kitti with his army should join Rakkha in order to seize the Relics, which it was rumoured the rebels intended to remove to India.

The men of Ruhuna, however, took the offensive and blockaded Udundora. But the royal general did not sit still, but fought actions in the neighbourhood at Maharívara, at Voyalagamu, perhaps the same place as Huyalagáma mentioned below, at Sumanagalla, possibly Haminagala south-east of Daumbagalla, at Badaguna, and finally at Uruvela-maṇḍala (Ētimolé), where they succeeded in capturing the Relics (Mhv., *ib.*, 99-126).

About this time one Súkarabhātu-deva, a chief (*sámanta*) of Mánábharana, escaped from prison and fled to Ruhuna. Mañju Adhikári was sent after him by the king and fought with the rebels at Sápatgamu or Hápatgamuwa<sup>3</sup> in Wiyaluwa, where he stayed. He appears later. The chief, however, evaded capture and with his friends, who naturally objected to the loss of the Relics, raised the country and assembled at Bhattasúpa village. The royal generals, however, beat them and proceeded to Demaṭaval, by which name Okkampitiya Viháre is still known. Here they routed "the whole enemy that was at Vápi" who had hastened to Demaṭaval, and went on to Sappanárukokila village, where the Commander-in-Chief died of dysentery. The rebels naturally took heart at this event, and under the command of Súkarabhātu-deva assembled in Gutta-sálaka-maṇḍala, the district around Buttala, but on the royal troops' advance fled to Máhágáma-maṇḍala or Mágama in Hambantota District (Mhv., *ib.*, 127-158). We may here note that in the fourth and fifth lines of verse 138 the words "seized and" are a gratuitous insertion on the part of Wijesinha.

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3. In verse 168 translated by Sakhápatta.

Parákrama Báhu disliked the idea of the Relics being carried about the country and gave directions that they should be sent to Poḷonnaruwa. This order was carried out, but so little was the effect of the recent royal victories that every step for some distance northwards from Hintálavana had to be won by fighting. The Relics on their arrival at Taṇḍulapattha were delivered to Mañju. This officer, as we have seen above, had pursued Súkarabhātu-deva into Wiyaluwa and had since been occupied in reducing Loggala and Dhanu-maṇḍala (\*Dunumaḍulla); he now entrusted the Relics of Añjana Kammanátha<sup>4</sup> to be taken to Poḷonnaruwa (Mhv., *ib.*, 159-170). The country north of Mēdagama seems to have been tranquil. We may now examine in more detail the passage of the Relics from Hintálavana to Taṇḍulapattha. We last saw the royal troops in the district of Buttala. As will appear in the sequel, Hintálavana (\*Kitulkelé) became the temporary headquarters, and, as water is indispensable, we may locate it provisionally on a perennial stream, either the Kumbukkan, the Parapá Oya, or the Kuḍa Oya, and somewhere about the parallel of Buttala; it was 20 *gávutas* or about 40 miles distant from Díghavápi-maṇḍala (Mhv., LXXV, 12). The next stage was Khíragáma (\*Kirigama). This place appears in the mediæval itinerary of Duṭugēmunu under the name of Kirigama or Girigama, between Buttala and Mēdagama: it almost certainly was a royal village, and it was here that Parákrama Báhu's mother was cremated and that her son built the Ratanávali Cetiya, 120 cubits in height (Mhv., LXXIX, 72). Wéragoḍa or Aṭalé would suit. Parana Alupota, a little to the north, is traditionally connected with Parákrama Báhu. This, however, is no

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4. This is the "Chief of the works" (Kammanáyaka) of Mhv., LXXII, 240.

real difficulty, as the old villages tended to disintegrate and the twelfth century Khíragáma may well have occupied country now divided among other hamlets. The presence of Ēttalamulla to the south-east of Aṭalé, showing the site of the old elephant stalls, confirms this view. We may note that a hamlet of the name of Girágammāna lies south-west of Aṭalé, but off the present track. Taṇagalúka and Sukhagiri from their position on the route taken may be Yakuráwa on the Kumbukkan and Guruhēla respectively: Sirigala is the name of an estate on Monarágala. Kaṭadoráva I take to be the same as the Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka of verse 84: for the double form of the name should be compared Sápatgamu and Sakhápatta (Hápatgamuwa) already noted. Dambagallaka of course is Daṁbagalla, and Taṇḍulapatttha (\*Hálpota) must lie further to the north. The reason for the diversion from the straight line from Buttala to Meḍagama may have been due to the position then occupied by Mañju's army, or more probably to the fact that the main road ran direct from Meḍagama to the capital Udundora.

The war as it was being conducted might have lasted for years, had not Mañju seen the necessity of placing garrisons in the conquered districts, and so of preventing the enemy from reoccupying the country when the royal troops had moved on. With this view in mind, Mañju went to Bokusála and consulted with the other commanders. The resulting operations, which were intended to reduce Díghavápi-maṇḍala, are not clear, as most of the places mentioned have not been identified. But it would appear that there was a sweeping movement through the southern part of Batticaloa District. From the fort Balapásāṇa the king's troops took Chaggáma (Sakámam), lying to the west of Tirukkóvil; later they attacked Málávattthuka-

maṇḍala (Malvattai), situated west of Nindaúr and south of Chadaiyantalárai. A circular movement then seems to have followed, bringing the army back to Hintálavana, which meanwhile had been occupied by the rebels in force. On being driven out they broke backwards in the direction of Díghavápi-maṇḍala, but were pursued thither and cut up, the royal troops having marched the distance of 20 *gávutas* in two nights. The victorious generals on their return with Hintálavana as their headquarters attacked the rebels in Buttala district at Ádipádaka-punnága-khaṇḍa and fought battles at Corambagáma, Múlánagáma, and Kuddála-maṇḍala. The first of these three places seems to be Horombáwa near Kawuḍáwa and Bútagolla, immediately south of Monarágala. Finally, moving camp, they fought their way through Kittirájavaluka-gáma, Uḷadá village, and Válukasa, and made their headquarters at Huyalagáma (Mhv., *ib.*, 171-181; LXXV, 1-19).

The approximate position of Adipádaka-punnága-khaṇḍa (\*Ēpá-dom̃ba-kaḍa) is indicated also in Mahávaṇṣa, LXI, 12 ff., in which the battles between Vikrama Báhu and his cousins are recorded. Vikrama Báhu, then in charge of Ruhuna, hearing of the death of his father Vijaya Báhu I., was travelling to Poḷonnaruwa, when he was met by his cousins' troops on their way to take him prisoner. The first battle was fought at Panasabukka (\*Kosbukka) in Guttahálaka-maṇḍala (Buttala), the second at Adipádaka-jambu (\*Ēpá-daṁba) obviously the same as \*Ēpá-dom̃ba-kaḍa, others at Kaṭagáma, at Kálavápi, and at Udundora. Huyalagáma probably commanded the great road between Mahánágakula and Udundora. Here the royal commanders stayed, apparently for some time. The rebels were now confined to the low country south of



Buttala, if not to the maritime district and the adjoining parts of Uva. The rest of Uva was garrisoned; the Kataragama country seems to have sufficed to prevent the enemy from breaking back to Dīghavāpi in that direction, and Parākrama Báhu now began a great movement from the present Ratnapura and Kalutara Districts with the object of crushing them between the two armies.

The generals selected for this operation were Rakkha the "Tamil general" (Damilādhikāri) and Rakkha the Chamberlain (Kañcuki-nāyaka), who were given instructions to take Mahánágakula, the capital of Doḷosdahās. The rebels had intended to form a royal seat (*rājadhāni*), presumably for Sugalā Dévi, at Gimhatittha (Gintota), which they held in strength. Rakkha the Chamberlain at first dispatched against them the chief Devarāja of Pañcayojana (Pasdun); but on their advancing under one command to the mouth of the Gālu river (Mahamodara), he himself attacked and drove them back onto their main army at Mahāvāluka-gāma (Weligama). Here they were again defeated, and on terms being offered many of the inhabitants put themselves under Rakkha's protection. The general then attacked with success the rebels at Devanagara (Dondra), at Kammāragāma (Kaṃburugamuwa), at Mahāpanālagāma, at Mānakapitthi, at the ford (*tittha*) of the Nīlavalā river (Nīlwalā Gaṅga) and at Kadali-patta village (\*Kehelpatgama or Dalupatgama). In spite of these victories, "the rebels waxed strong" and determined to prevent the royal troops from crossing the river at Mahākhetta. A battle ensued in the middle of the stream. Going thence Rakkha's men attacked the rebels at Dīghāli and drove them back to Suvāṇṇa-malaya. This also was cleared of the enemy, and the general departed for Málāvaratthali (\*Malwaragoda),

leaving instructions to his men to follow him thither (Mhv., LXXV, 20-69)

Suvannamalaya is Ranmalékanda, situated north-west of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides the West Giruwa Pattu from Matara District. The identity of Mahákhetta—Dígháli is not clear: the first named place should be \*Mahawela and the last \*Dikēla. The two places were close together, apparently on either bank of the Nilwalá Gaṅga and are mentioned in Mahávaṇsa, LXXII, 87 ff. There is a Mahawela in Urubokka, some 3 miles from Ranmalékanda, but the river here is hardly wide enough to merit a special description of a fight in its bed. The late Mr. Ayrton thought that Dígháli was Dikwēlla on the sea coast and that Málávaratthali was Morawaka. The site required perhaps may be Paraduwa in Akuressa, where there is an extensive tract of paddy fields on one side of the river and a long channel (*dik-ēla*) on the other. The position of Málávaratthali will be discussed later. Meanwhile the other Rakkha, the Tamil general, reached Doṇivagga (Denawaka). The rebels intended opposition on the road from that place to Navayojana (Nawadun), "which is very hard to pass through." Defeated they fell back on Garuḷ-aṭṭhaka-añcha (Aṭakalan Panné).<sup>5</sup> The royal troops took this and Rakkha returned to Denawaka. The enemy then continued hostilities from Púgadaṇḍakávāṭa (\*Puwak-daṇḍáwala), perhaps Daṇḍíwa on the Wegaṅga: they were dispersed and this fort became Rakkha's headquarters for the time being. Thence his men were sent to take Tambagáma fort, that is Taṃbagamuwa in Aṭakalan Kóralé, in later times a gravet on the road to Mágama. This operation ended, an army was dispatched to deal

5. The author of this part of the Mhv. has mistranslated *panné* by *garuḷ*, taking it to be the same as *parna*.

with the rebels hidden "in their own country" at Bodhiávāṭa (\*Bówala), Hintálavanagāma (\*Kitulkēlégama), and Atarandá-Mahābodhikkhanda, perhaps Butkanda near Kēlla in Kolonna Kóralé. This force returned and the Tamil general advanced to Súkarīli-Bheripāsāna or Ūrala-Beralapanátara, pacified the country, and so went to Símátalatthali, from its name perhaps on the boundary of Giruwa Pattu. The rebels now assembled and with their general came to Nadībhaṇḍa (Óbaḍa in West Giruwa Pattu); Rakkha's troops, however, advanced and fought with the enemy at Mahāsenagāma, where the hostile general was slain and his army fled. The Tamil general thereupon entered the city of Mahánágakula (Mánávūlu), where he was joined by the other Rakkha the Chamberlain (Mhv., LXXV, 70-119). The city is known from the Mánávūlu Sandēṣaya to have been situated on the Vananadi, in the Sinhalese *sannaya* rendered Wala-hóya, that is the Walawé Gaṅga.<sup>6</sup>

The itinerary of the Tamil general from Denawaka to Beralapanátara is not clear. Two routes were open to him, the one through the mountains lying between Rakwāna and Deniyāya, the other skirting the mountain system through Kolonna Kóralé. During the civil war between Parákrama Báhu and Mánábharāṇa the former had sent troops against Ruhūṇa under four generals, two of whom were in charge of the Mahāniyāma and Pañcayojana countries, that is of Māniyangama in Three Kóralés and Pasdun raṭa. They took Navayojana from Mánábharāṇa's forces, and having fought twenty battles on the borders of Kálagiri came to Díghálīka-Mahákhetta (Mhv., LXXII, 87-96). The Denawaka valley now is in Nawadun Kóralé, but in the

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6. I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for this information.

twelfth century clearly this was not so. In the fourteenth century Kaḍaim-pota the two were still distinct, and in the next century the Maha Saman Déwálé sannasa<sup>7</sup> shows that at least part of the modern Kuruwīṭi Kóralé was in Nawadun raṭa. This last, therefore, seems to have included the valley of the Wégaṅga and other tributaries of the Kalugaṅga and may even have covered the lower part of Kukulu Kóralé. Kālagiri doubtless is the Kaḷugalboda raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota and from its position was the mountain massif lying in the upper part of the present Kukulu, Aṭakalan, Kolonna and Morawak Kóralés. The difficulty of the country is illustrated by the twenty battles mentioned above; the fact that these were fought on "the borders of Kālagiri" leads me to the belief that Parākrama's army did not attempt to cross the mountains but kept to the low country, where, however, the foothills provided admirable positions for temporary fortresses. If Atarandā-Mahābodhikkhanda is Butkanda, the Tamil general followed the same route. From Beralapanātara his course is clear as the Urubokka Gaṅga valley leads straight to Óbaḍa. Continuing down stream he would have come to the old gabaḍāgama of Mārākaḍa with its centre at Wīrakeṭiya and would have struck the Walawé Gaṅga not far from the sea. Local tradition places Mánávulu-pura on the right bank of the river in the present villages of Palle Roṭé. Māmaḍala, and Bēminiyanwila. The palace is said to have been on the mound Ellégoda-gediya, not far from the river and about a mile south of Weṭiya.

The rebels "with none to support them" (Mhv., LXXV, 121) now had retired to the country of Khaṇḍavagga. The two Rakkhas, however, remained at Mahānāgakula and spent their time in inducing the

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7. Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, p.45.

people who were in hiding to return to their homes. The Tamil general then attacked the rebels and beat them at Bakagalla-Uddhavápi (Koggala Uḍavēwa), not far from the Walawé Gaṅga, and returned. Koggala thus seems to have been in Khaṇḍavagga. Sūkara-bhātu-deva now reappeared at Mágama, but his career was cut short by the Tamil general's army, which slew him and occupied Mágama. The word translated by Wijesinha in verse 135 by "returned to" is *upágámuṇ*, "entered" After three more defeats the rebels left the open country (*ratthamajjham*) and hid themselves. The Tamil general, therefore, decided to entice them out into the open country and with this object withdrew to Púgaḍaṇḍávāṭa, which as we have seen was in Nawadun Kóralé. The rebels then reappeared and the general, beating them at Bodhiávāṭa village (\*Bówala), Beralapanátara and Madutthali fort (Mígoḍa, a hamlet not far from Urubokka), went into the open country and sending his troops in various directions destroyed great numbers of the enemy. It was at this juncture that he received a message from Mañju and the other chiefs, who had made their headquarters at Huyalagáma in Uva. Accordingly he met them at Kumbugáma *alias* Kubbugáma, possibly a village near Kumbukanda about five miles south of Koslanda, but more probably on the great road between Mahánágakula and Buttala. The rebels driven out by the Tamil general had found a refuge in strongholds in the country held by the chiefs. Mañju now proposed to make an end of them before they made good their footing, to attack the stronghold of Aṭṭaḍahas, and seize Sugalá Dévi herself. Rakkha thereupon searched the vicinity of the Walawé Gaṅga.<sup>8</sup>

8. The "stronghold" of Aṭṭasahassaka, not the plural as in Wijesinha. The "Vana-nadi" of the text has been rendered both in the English and Sinhalese translations by "forests and rivers." According to the *sannaya* of the Mánávulu Sandésaya it is the Walahóya or Walawé Gaṅga "Of that part of the country" (v.160) of Wijesinha is not in the Pali.

The rebels were on the Aṭadahas side of the river and, as the general was returning from the conference, his operations must have been in a southerly or south-westerly direction. The enemy, dislodged, made for Málávaratthali, so that they might reach the strongholds in the mountains, that is presumably in Kaḷugalboḍa, but being pursued “entered into the thick forest that covered the great hills” or possibly “the great hill” (mahá pabbata). The Tamil general surrounded “the wood and the mountain” and destroyed the rebels. The description reads as though the enemy had taken refuge on a particular hill and we may have to look for a Mahakanda or Mahagala. Rakkha now secured for the king the possession of Doḷosdahas raṭa, reducing it to submission by wholesale executions. The same policy was carried out in the neighbourhood of Mahánágakula. Sending news to the king, he remained in Doḷosdahas. The words “self same village” (v.169) of Wijesinha do not appear in the Pali. (Mhv., LXXV, 120-169).

Meanwhile Mañju and the other chiefs at Kumbugáma, with the object of seizing the person of Sugalá Deví, left Harítakiváta (\*Araluwáwa), garrisoned the towns there, and then went to Kaṇhaváṭa (\*Kaḷuwala) and so to Vanagáma (\*Walgama), where the old queen was captured. The remnant of her beaten forces, however, reassembled at Udundora, but were defeated and fled to Nigrodha-Máragalla, that is Máragala the eastern and highest peak of the Monarágala range, where they were killed or taken prisoner. The country was then pacified, hundreds being executed, and was left in charge of Bhútádhikári, while Sugalá Deví and her officers were sent to the king (Mhv., *ib.*, 170-203). Village tradition is said to locate the capture of the queen at Vehera-beṇḍiteṇṇa, about 1½ miles south of Old Alupota. A

hamlet of the last named village is Aralugasmaḍa, and some four miles north of Old Alupota on the road to Meḍagama is a ford on the Kumbukkan Oya called Nilwala or Kaḷuwala. If the tradition be true, Sugalā Dévi must have doubled back from the low country. But the relative situation of Veheraḇēḍiṭenna, Kaḷuwala, and Aralugasmaḍa is difficult to reconcile with any probable military operation, and it seems more likely that the queen was taken prisoner in the low country lying south of the Uva mountains. On the analogy of Vananadi being equal to Walawé Gaṅga, Vanagāma possibly might be Uḍa or Pallé Walawa.

It only remains to locate Málāvaratthali, to which the Chamberlain went from Ranmalékanda. Wijesinha identified it with Mārakaḍa, apparently because the two names began with the same syllable. This of course is impossible, as Mārakaḍa lay directly on the route taken by the Tamil general from Beralapanátara to Mahánágakula, and it was only after he had taken the capital that he was joined by the Chamberlain. We are thus left with a location south or north of the Urubokka Gaṅga. The latter only fits in with the flight of the rebels on their way to the mountains after being driven out of the country on the left bank of the Walawé Gaṅga. This river can only be crossed at a few places and I would provisionally locate Málāvaratthali in the neighbourhood of Taláwa in the East Giruwa Pattu, where an army would command the routes from the two fords near Tunkamé and at Liyangahatoṭa as well as the road from Mahánágakula to Beralapanátara. The object of the Chamberlain in going to Málāvaratthali from Ranmalékanda perhaps was to prevent reinforcement of the Doḷosdahas rebels by their friends in Aṭadahas raṭa beyond the Walawé.

P.S.—Mhv. LVIII, 43. Maṇḍagalla=Maha Maḍagalla-veṇa on the head waters of the Mí-oya, not far from Polpiṭigama.

## APPENDIX I.

The following is given as the route taken by Duṭṭu-gemunu on his way from Mágama to fight the Tamils in the King's Country.

<i>Mahávaṇṣa</i>	<i>Thúparaṇṣa</i>	<i>Saddharmáláṅkāra</i>
Tissamaháráma		Mágama
		(The halting places were:—)
		Kaḷuwala
		Éhaḷa (night)
		Gíkitta
Guttahálaka (Buttala)		Gut-hala
	Kirigama	Girigama
		Niyamulla
Malaya		Meḍagam-Uyantota
		Tungam-Kasaṭapiṭṭiva
		(here the army got ready to fight)
Mahiyāṅgana		Miyuguna (first battle)

Mr. C. W. Bibile, Ratamahatmaya, gives the following information:—

*Meḍagam-Uyantota*.—At Meḍagama on the left bank of Meḍagam Oya there is a place called Málīgāṭenna, where there is a small dágaba around which there are stone pillars. The story connected with the place runs as follows:—King Duṭṭu-gemunu was proceeding to fight the Tamils and halted at this place for his mid-day meal. While the meal was being prepared he got his followers to put up a small dágaba with the available stone to offer rice before he partook of it. This was put up and the king, after offering rice, ate his meal and proceeded. It is said that later he improved this place with the rock pillars found there now. Opposite to this place on the other bank there is a Viháre said to have been erected by Devenipétissa and subsequently restored by Lajjatissa, nephew of Devenipétissa.



The Viháré is now known as Timbiriya Viháré. . . . Between the place called Máligát nna and Timbiriya Viháré there is the gaṇsabháwa road passing; thus the place is called a *toṭa* or a ferry or ford. . . . .

*Tungam-Kasatapiya.* In a direct north-westerly direction from Medagama 7 miles off there is a village at Ítanawatta called Egoḍa Ítanawatta or Ítanawatté Tánáyamgama village, in which there is a place called Tungampiṭiya *alias* Kahatapiṭiya and then from this there is a gaṇsabháwa road going through Kuruwambé on to Hépola and the present road to Alutnuwara or Mahyangana.

The later tradition seems to make Duṭuḡemunu follow the well-known route through Wellassa, whereas the Mahávaṇsa distinctly says that he went through Malaya, the hill country, the most direct route and the most likely as that country was in his hands.

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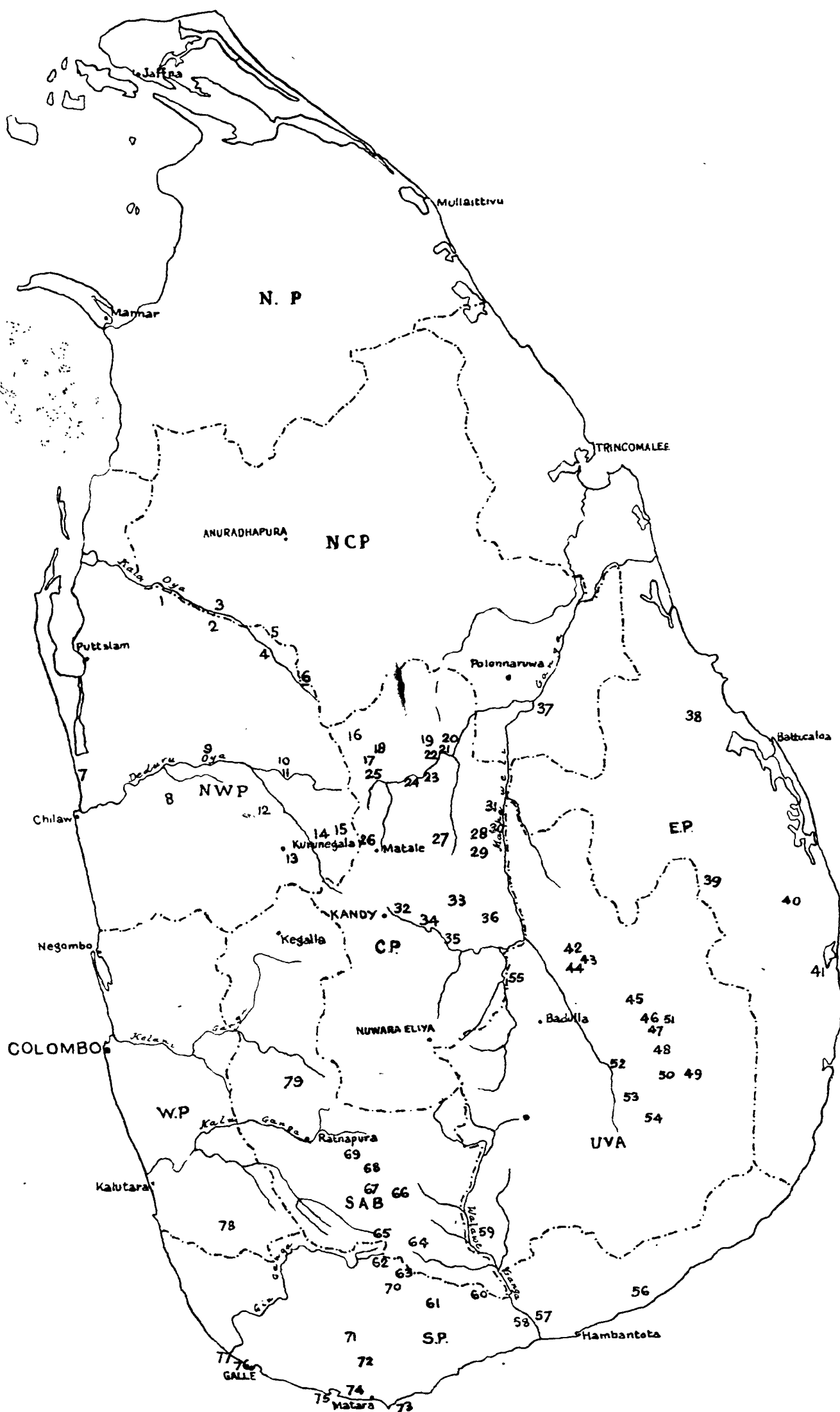
## APPENDIX II.

Places identified in Papers I. and II.

The numbers before the names refer to the map, those after the names to the paper and page.

- |                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ádipádaka-jambu, II, 79.       | Dvādasasahassaka, I, 63.     |
| Ádipádaka-punnága-             | 38 Eráhulu, Erávulu, II, 75. |
| khaṇḍa, II, 79.                | 49 Eṭumala, II, 71.          |
| 23 Áligáma, I, 72.             | 76 Gálu river, II, 80.       |
| 21 Álisára, I, 71.             | Gaṅgataṭáka, II, 74.         |
| 48 Amaragiri, II, 72.          | 67 Gaṛuḷ-aṭṭhakalañcha, I,   |
| 24 Ambavana, I, 67.            | 73: II, 81.                  |
| 3 Aṅgamu, I, 65, 72.           | 77 Gimhatittha, II, 80.      |
| Ariṭṭhagiri, I, 63.            | 2 Giribá-raṭṭha, I, 65, 72.  |
| Aṭadahas raṭa, I, 73.          | 52 Girigama, II, 77.         |
| 64 Atarandá-Mahábodhik-        | 53 Guttahálaka, Guttasálaka  |
| khaṇḍa, I, 73: II, 82.         | (-maṇḍala), II, 76.          |
| Aṭṭhasahassaka, I, 63, 73.     | Hintálavana, II, 77.         |
| 14 Badalatthali, I, 66.        | 19 Jambukola, I, 71.         |
| 57 Bakagalla-Uddhavápi, II,    | 63 Kálagri, II, 83.          |
| 84.                            | 65 Kaḷugalbeḍa, II, 83.      |
| 27 Bodhigámavara I, 67.        | 74 Kammáragáma, II, 80.      |
| 17 Bubbula, I, 71.             | 47 Kaṇṭaka-dvára-vátaka, II, |
| 18 Buddhagáma I, 66.           | 75.                          |
| 41 Chagáma, Chaggáma, I,       | 47 Kaṭadoráva, II, 78.       |
| 64; II, 78.                    | 5 Kaṭiyágáma, I, 66, 71.     |
| 50 Corambagáma, II, 79.        | Khaṇḍavagga, II, 84.         |
| 46 Dambagallaka, II, 78.       | 52 Khíragáma, II, 77.        |
| 54 Demaṭaval, II, 76.          | 20 Kiráṭi, I, 72.            |
| 73 Devanagara, II, 80.         | 52 Kirigama, II, 77.         |
| 71 Dígháli, Díghálíka, II, 81. | 43 Koṭasara Piyaṅgalu        |
| 39 Díghavápi (-maṇḍala), II,   | Viháre, II, 74.              |
| 75.                            | Koṭṭhasárika, II, 74.        |
| 42 Divácandantabátava,         | Kubbugáma, II, 74.           |
| seven forts beyond, II,        | 11 Kumbhíla-vánaka, I, 70.   |
| 73.                            | Kumbugáma, II, 84.           |
| Doḷosdahas raṭa, I, 73.        |                              |
| 69 Doṇivagga, II, 81.          |                              |

- 29 Laṅkāgiri, I, 71.  
 29 Laṅkāpabbata I, 67.  
 44 Lokagalla, II, 75.  
 63 Maḍutthali, II, 84.  
 64 Mahābodhikkhanda, I, 73; II, 82.  
 9 Mahāgallaka, I, 70.  
 56 Mahāgāma (-maṇḍala), II, 76.  
 71 Mahākhetta, II, 81.  
 58 Mahānāgākula, II, 82, 83.  
 79 Mahāniyāma, II, 82.  
 75 Mahāvālukagāma, II, 80.  
 6 Mahīpala-raṭṭha, I, 67.  
 Mahunnāruggāma, I, 64.  
 45 Majjhimagāmaka, II, 71.  
 60 Mālāvaratthali, II, 86.  
 40 Mālāvatthuka-maṇḍala, II, 79.  
 58 Mānāvūlu, II, 82, 83.  
 Maṅgalaba, I, 64, 70.  
 45 Meḍagam-Uyantota, II, 87.  
 30 Melandura, I, 63.  
 4 Moravāpi, I, 66.  
 Muhunnaru, I, 64.  
 61 Nadībhaṇḍa, I, 73; II, 82.  
 25 Nālanda, I, 72.  
 Navayojana, I, 74.  
 48 Nigrodha-Māragalla, II, 85.  
 72 Nīlavalā river, II, 80.  
 78 Pañcayojana, I, 63; II, 80.  
 8 Paṇḍavāpi, I, 70.  
 16 Pilaviṭṭhi, Pilaviṭṭhika-raṭṭha, I, 67.  
 68 Pūgaḍaṇḍakāvāta, II, 81.  
 28 Ranambure, I, 69.  
 12 Rattakaravha, I, 70.  
 55 Sakhīpatta, II, 78.  
 Saṅkhanāthatthali, I, 74.  
 Saṅkhanāyakatthali, I, 74.  
 Saṅkhatthali, I, 74.  
 10 Saṅkhavaḍḍhamāna, I, 70.  
 55 Sāpatgamu, II, 76, 28.  
 30 Saragāma, I, 68.  
 26 Saraggāma, I, 68.  
 30 Sarogāma, I, 68.  
 Savan, II, 75.  
 15 Siriyālagāma, I, 66.  
 62 Sūkaraḷi-Bheripāsāpa, I, 73; II, 82.  
 Sukhagiri, II, 78.  
 51 Sumanagalla, II, 76.  
 70 Suvaṇṇamalaya, I, 73; II, 81.  
 1 Tabbā-raṭṭha, I, 65.  
 22 Talakatthali, I, 72.  
 22 Talathala, I, 71.  
 66 Tambagāma, I, 73; II, 81.  
 Taṇagalūka, II, 78.  
 Tungam-Kasaṭapīṭiya, II, 88.  
 48 Uddhanadvāra, II, 72.  
 48 Udundora, II, 72.  
 49 Uruvela(-maṇḍala), II, 71.  
 7 Vālikākhetta, I, 71.  
 59 Vanagāma, II, 86.  
 Vananadī, II, 82, 84.  
 13 Vāpinagara, I, 64.



NOTE.- The numbers on the map refer to places mentioned in Appendix II.



Mhv. LXX, 10, 11, 14, 16, 20.

32	Nágapabbata	Nápána (Udagampaha Páta Dumbara)
34	Rámucchuvallika	Raṁbukweḷla (Palispattu, Páta Dumbara)
33	Nílagallaka	Nilgala (Uḍispattu, Uḍa Dum- bara)
35	Dhanuvillika	Dunuwila (Meḍasiyapattu, Uḍa Dumbara)
36	Majjhimavaggaka	Meḍiwaka (Gampaha Kórale Uḍa Dumbara)

Mhv. LXXII, 34, 44, 53.

30	Sarogáma	Wilgomuwa
31	Mahárukha	Máraké
37	Yakkha-sukara	Yakkúré

*EXTRACTS FROM THE DAG-REGISTERS OF  
BATAVIA RELATING TO CEYLON.*

TRANSLATED AND COMPILED BY

**The Late Mr. F. H. De VOS**

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Literature, Etc., of Leyden.*

**DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1624—1629**

PUBLISHED BY THE

DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

**Mr. J. E. HEERES**

*Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

**Jhr. Mr. Ths. VAN RIEMSDYK**

*Algemeen Ryks Archivaris (1896)*

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**INTRODUCTION**

**Anno 1624-29.**

The *dag-registers* (journals) kept in the Fort of Batavia of what took place there and in the Dutch Indies, were since 1887 published by the *Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* with the co-operation of the Government of the Dutch-Indies and under the supervision of Mr. J. A. van der Chijs at Batavia. These registers, which are in the Government Archives of Batavia, begin with the year 1640, and form, especially

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I am obliged to Mr E. Reimers, Government Archivist, for checking the proof of this article—C.H.C.

after the year 1659, a more or less complete series which end with the year 1807. The aim of the *Genootschap* is to print these journals in order of date. In the *Ryksarchief* at the Hague there are also among the records of the Chambers Amsterdam and Zeeland of the East Indian Company, some of these journals which are missing in Batavia, and which include the oldest and most interesting. There can be no question that these latter should also be published. After the oldest register at Batavia (1640-41) was printed and the Committee had consulted me about the publication of those parts of the series in August 1887, I said that I would gladly supplement what was issued by the *Genootschap* by publishing for it what is to be found here. I however thought it advisable not to decide on this step until there appeared in Batavia some more of the series there. When the registers for 1640-1641, 1653, 1659, 1661, 1663, and 1664 had been successively published, His Excellency the Minister of the Colonies in 1894 declared that he was prepared to vote a sum for printing of the registers to be found here. Accordingly the publication of the oldest of these journals, under the supervision of Mr. J. E. Heeres, *Adjunct-Archivaris* of the *Ryksarchief*, charged with the care of the East Indian division of the old colonial archives, became an accomplished fact. The method of procedure adopted by him in this matter is explained by him in the Preface which follows. This summary gives an idea of the plan that he will adhere to in the publication of the parts that will follow. It is not necessary for me to touch on the nature and historical interest of the Batavian *dag-registers* and Mr. J. A. van der Chijs has done so in his preface to the *dag-registers* from 1640 to 1641.

Ths. van Riemsdyk.



## PREFACE.

In the Preface with which Mr. J. A. van der Chijs introduced to the public the *dag-register* kept in the Fort of Batavia during 1640-1641 (the first of the series published by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*) he was able to mention that the following of these in many respects remarkable documents are to be found in the old-colonial archives at the Hague: viz., for the years 1624-1629, 1631-1632 (3), 1634-1636, 1647-1648, 1656-1657, and 1766. In making an inventory of the Archives I came across that for the year 1793. Students of our colonial history are now offered the registers from 1624-29, bound together. Hereafter there will appear six parts: 1631-1634, 1636, 1647-48, 1656-57, 1766, and 1793.

\* \* \* \* \*

J. E. Heeres.

### 12th March 1625.

Our people had on the 16th January last sent the ship "Medenblicq" with the two frigates "Tannassery" and "Bon Remedia" together with two new *chaloups* brought there from the Fatherland with the "Leeuwinne" to Puncto de Gale under the command of the opperkoopman Libenaer to keep an eye on the Portuguese ships going from Maccau and Malacca to Goa.

\* \* \* \* \*

### 8th September 1625.

There arrived in the harbour here to-day (Monday) from the Coromandel coast the ship "de Vreede" . . . by which the Director Marten Ysbrants advises . . . what little success has attended the mission to Puncto de Gale on account of the late despatch of the cruisers sent there, coupled with their long delay in the voyage from Arracan.

**DAG-REGISTER A.o. 1631—1634.**

PUBLISHED BY THE

DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

ONDE THE SUPERVISION OF

**Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER***Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1898)***PREFACE.**

The task devolves on me as the successor of Mr. J. E. Heeres, . . . to continue the supervision of the publication of this work. . . The *dag-registers* now published bring us to the time of Governors-General Jacquis Speex and Hendrick Bromoer. . . As a supplement to the alphabetical index the following references to places are given. . . .

The weak condition of the Portuguese in Ceilon.

H. T. Colenbrander.

**16th August 1631.**

There comes again from Bantam the Koopman Josaphat Geerdinex with the sloop which left on the 12th, and reports that the Viceroy in Goa, through want of money and men, could not put out his fleet, having, besides a good number of men, 12 galleons ready in Goa, six being sent to the relief of the helpless condition of affairs in Ceylon.

**4th September 1631.**

There arrive here from Bantam two of our merchants with the English ships from Surat bringing with them

letters from the Director Jan van Hasel who advises His Honour . . . that as the Viceroy of the Portuguese had sent all his forces to the relief of the helpless state of affairs in Ceilon, our ships, to all appearances, have no reason to expect any resistance from the enemy.

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### 29th September 1631.

Arrived from the Coromandel coast the ship "Warmond". . . . The Governor Marten Ybrantsen advises that. . . the Viceroy or his son with 80 to 100 sail, and among them some galleys and boats, had left Goa for the relief of Ceylon and was met on the way by a Malabar fleet of about 400 vessels strong and was so attacked that he was obliged with the loss of one ship to return to Goa, not to mention some ships which were also sent to the relief of Ceylon, and which, through fear of the Malabars had put out so far to sea, that they were wrecked on the Maldives and had sunk, for which reason Ceylon could not have been relieved and Colombo and Galle were besieged by the King of Ceylon.

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### 10th July 1632.

Arrives here from the Straits of Sunda a sloop sent to His Honour by Heer Philipsz Luycassen . . . With the said fleet the Director van Hasel advises from Surat . . . that the Viceroy had as yet not received from Europe either galleons or *cracken*, by reason of which he has not been able, not only to equip himself against us, but also to send suitable succours to Ceylon.

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### 31st January 1633.

There arrives here from the Coromandel Coast the *jacht* "Weesph". . . . with a certain letter dated . . . written to us by the merchants Daniel Collier and Jaques Pars in which they advises . . . that the state of the Portuguese generally on the coast of India was

very bad, having had from Portugal this year only a large Spanish ship (barque d' advyso) in company with another from Lisbon which arrived there in June, from which intelligence was received that there would soon follow, under the command of a new Viceroy, four big galleons and some smaller ships.

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### 20th June 1633.

The condition of the Portuguese on the coast of India is reduced to a low ebb, and they have daily suffered great misfortune and disasters. . . From six to eight Portuguese ships fitted for trade between Goa and Ceylon, were wrecked by storms and bad weather and five of the aforesaid were plundered by us, and the Captain-General of the Armada was in the encounter with the ship "Zeelandt" hit by a cannon ball. . . .

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### 8th February 1634.

There arrives here from the Coromandel coast the *fluit* ship "Schagen". . . According to the letters from Governor Marten Ybrantsen of the 9th ultimo. . . the *jacht* "Westsanen". . . arrived at Arsepoor on the 9th October. . . . the *jacht* "Vlielandt." at anchor in the river (at Paliacatte) to be overhauled and sheathed, was (in consequence of the storm) obliged to cut its three masts. . . . The aforesaid *jachts* "Westsanen" and "Vlielandt" were now again refitted and lay ready in the river to be brought out with the first spring, and notwithstanding that it was high time that we cruised about Ceylon and Nagapatnam, yet Governor Marten Ybrantsen was afraid to send them far out. . .

In Ceylon the Portuguese appeared to have made up their minds to secure and more firmly establish their position. For this purpose they had expelled all the Moors under their rule in Ceylon and sent them to Adrapatnam on the continent, fearing that they would

conspire against them, and having a secret understanding with the King of Kandy, would attempt at some time or other to injure them. But the Viceroy of Goa had also sent to Ceylon certain caffers whom he caused the *mesters* in Goa, Cochin and other places under his rule to get for him and to pay as he wished, with the intention of thereby going to war with the Sinhalese. The aforesaid Caffers, when they came to Ceylon, all deserted to the King of Ceylon.

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#### 14th August 1634.

There arrived here from Coromandel the ship "Utrecht". . . . According to the letters of Governor Marten Ybrantsen. . . . he had in February last, the *jachts* "Westanen" "Vlielandt" and the large sloop manned by 110 men, to keep an eye on the enemy's ships about Ceylon. These cruised about Ceylon, Jaffnapatnam and Negapatnam till the 8th April and returned to Paliacatte on the 18th. They had intercepted and seized nothing (although they had pursued the ships) save only a *champan* and a *bustery*, both coming from Jaffnapatnam and laden with little trifles of no importance.

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#### DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1637

PUBLISHED BY THE

DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER

*Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1899)*

#### PREFACE.

KARLSRUHE.

In the *Hof- en Landsbibliotheek* at Karlsruhe there is under No. 483 a manuscript with the title "Verhael van den Standt van India gedurende 't gouerne

van der E. Hr. van Diemen, beginnende" primo Januario anno 1637." (Account of the State of India during the Government of the Hon'ble van Diemen beginning from the 1st January 1637). It is a copy of the Batavian register of that year made for Artus Gysels and must have belonged to the manuscripts presented by that ex-Councillor of India to the Marquis Hernan van Baden. The title is not quite correct as the register really begins, in immediate continuation of that published by me in 1899 (No. 1636), with 29th December 1636. . .

The register suddenly breaks off at the 27th May 1637. At the end there is noted in the manuscript "see further in the continuation of the second book No. . . (blank). The continuation is not to be found among the manuscripts of the Karlsruhe library. Even the *Landsarchief* at Batavia or the *Ryksarchief* at the Hague does not possess copies of the *dag-register* of 1637 either before or after the 27th May of that year. . .

H. T. Colenbrander.

There arrived here from the neighbourhood of Goa the *advijs jacht* "Cleen Rotterdam" sent here by the Commander Jacob Cooper from the Bay of Goa by which His Honour advises us in his letter of the 4th February . . . . that on the 16th December a certain Moorish ship, coming from Cochin before Goa, was seized by the ship "Vlissingen". . . . With the aforesaid *jacht* "Cleen Rotterdam" there reached us here also some intercepted Portuguese letters written to the Viceroy and others in authority at Goa, which came into the hands of Commander Cooper from the aforesaid Moorish ship seized opposite Goa, from which can be fully understood the miserable condition of our enemies at Cochin. . . but also that in the island of Ceylon the garrison, not having received their pay, rebelled against the

Governor, plundering and robbing the citizens of whatever they could lay their hands on, and many other particulars, as appear more fully from the following translation. Extracts from various letters of the Captain-General Diego de Mello de Castros late Captain at St. Thome now residing at Malvana in Ceylon, from Antonio de Moura, Captain of Cochin, from Pedro Vaes Dabreo, merchant of the King in Cochin, from Francisco de Faria Lobo, Captain of Cranganor, to the Viceroy Pero du Silva and other persons of consequence and *padres* residing in Goa and Cochin.

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Captain Diego de Mello de Castros writes in his letters of the 21st October and 13th November Ao. 1636, written in Malvana in Ceylon, to the Viceroy Pero da Silva, of the great wantonness, inexperience, disease, disgust and poverty of the soldiers, and complaining about some Captains in Ceylon; also about the want of money, ammunition and ther necessaries for the fortifications; that at Malvana he had made a strong bastion with beams and strengthened the walls of Colombo; that he could not prevent the sale by the King of Kandy of his elephants to the King of Thansiouwer by reason of the treaty of peace made at Goa between the Ambassadors of the King of Ceylon and the Viceroy Conde de Linhares, Don Miguel de Noronha; that the King of Kandy as desired by the Viceroy should, on account of his lucky successes against the Portuguese, be prevented from having the free right of selling and sending the elephants where he wished; that he would not in the least tolerate such a thing but would again break out in war; that the Moors also, by reason of what has been written to His Majesty and the Viceroy, could not be driven out of Ceylon, being now of greater strength; that there was great risk in attacking them although so ordered by the King; that the

important places and strongholds in the war with the King of Spain, viz., Manicavarie, Malvana, Balavie, Sofragan, Caleture which the enemy had before this destroyed, could not be rebuilt for want of money; the defeat of Captain Pedro Lopes de Sousa and Hironimo Dazevedo who, of thousand Portuguese soldiers, had left six hundred dead in the retreat from Balave to Malvana; that he did not reter to the reverses of the Captain-General Constantino Deza and the other Portuguese who died with him, which were still fresh in their memory; that the King of Kandy had the greatest part of his men, who are intractable, exercised in war and tactics; that the natives could not be trusted, the more so, as they were removed from office and Portuguese put in their place; that Mature, during the time of Hironimo, provided six thousand lascoreens but now only three hundred; that the people of the Naick of Tansjouwer had left without any elephants as the King of Kandy had asked sixty thousand *pataches* for them; also that not so much cinnamon could have been collected as before.

Lauwerenco Freica de Brito, Captain in the Fort of Gale in Ceylon, writes to the Captain-General Diego de Mello de Castros and complains in his letter of the 5th November written in Galle, that there were only nine guns there, that more were required, especially big guns, to use against the enemy from high platforms, and that they should get big ordnance for *falcaões*; that there was a dearth of chambers: that the previous Viceroy had sent eight which were too small for the large *falcaões*: desires that he may be allowed the continuance of the building of the walls and the fort; complains also much about (the want of) money.



**DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1641—1642**

PUBLISHED BY THE  
DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN  
UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

**Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER**

*Adjunct-Archivaris Ryksarchief, The Hague (1900)*

**PREFACE.**

The Batavian *dag-register* that now appears is in the *Ryksarchief* (Hague), but has been so far overlooked, that the publication could not be announced in the Preface to that published in 1896. (No. 1624-1629). It was then thought that the *dag-register* of 1647-1648 as the next oldest extant should follow that of 1636. It was however forgotten that by a Resolution of the Governor-General and the Council of India of the 1st February 1642 the task of keeping the *dag-register* having become too great for one person was divided among five Councillors of India. . . . Cornelis Witsen was entrusted with the work of noting the occurrences on the coast of India and in Ceylon

H. T. Colenbrander.

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**15th December 1641.**

There arrives from Malacca the *jacht* "Venhuysen" with the Sergeant-Major Johannes Lamotius. The Vice-Governor Johan van Twist advises under date the 25th November that the ships "Bergen-of-Zoon" "Franecker," "Arremuyden," "Aeckersloot," "Bredam," and the *jacht* "de Sterre" arrived there on the 15th October and 7th November and left on the 15th with the Commander Dominicus Bouwens for Ceylon . . . . The Ceylon Ambassadors were, on their arrival in

Malacca, welcomed with all honour, feasted in the city, shown round the ramparts, bastions, etc., and they were full of admiration and praise of the Dutch, promising that their King also could undoubtedly accomplish such a glorious victory. Of the four elephants bought by the Koopman Jan Harman for 2087 $\frac{3}{4}$  rix dollars in Queda, one had died on the voyage, and another in transshipping fell by accident into the water and was drowned, so that only two were safely landed at Malacca and they will be sent by the first opportunity to Batavia. Heer van Twist was of opinion that if any Sinhalese elephant-catchers of experience could be brought to Malacca they would be of great service to the General Company in catching these beasts which abound in the surrounding jungles.

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### 21st October 1641.

On the 21st there left the Bay of Batavia Heer Pieter Boreel Extraordinary Councillor of India with the ship "Banda" and the *jachts* "Leeuwerck" and "Delfshaven" for Malacca, Ceylon, the coast of India, etc., to publish in these places the notification of the ten-years treaty of peace between our republic and the Kingdom of Portugal. . . .

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### 24th December 1641.

Don Philippo de Mascarines, General of Ceylon, had written to the Viceroy that there being various nationalities in our garrison at Punte Gale, he had caused them to be bribed with money and had distributed 8,000 pagodas to surrender the fort as soon as possible, but that in order to accomplish this without danger more men were necessary. For this purpose the Viceroy had got ready some frigates and men and had advised that the work should be undertaken if possible before the confirmation of peace, which was daily expected in India.

**26th December 1641.**

On the 26th December there arrived here the ship "Amsterdam" from Coromandel with a letter dated 14th September from the President Jan Thyssen from Ceylon in which he advises as follows:—

That in consequence of the misfortune and loss of Captain Walraeven de Riviere with 27 men and the many invalids, who daily increase in number, the garrison is much weakened, thirty persons having died since the departure of the "Waterhont" and the *fluit* "Cappelle," and it was feared that this state of things would continue, the garrison in Galle consisting of 355 men, among them being about 80 invalids, and as to garrison the place 400 or more men were required, it was intended to inform Governor Gardenys, by the *jacht* "Leecq," that if he could spare from 20 to 25 men that he would oblige them by sending them to him.

Of the fugitive soldiers who escaped from the detachment of Capt. Riviere, 2 were condemned by His Honour and Council to be shot (as an example to others) but on the entreaties of the Sinhalese sabandars and some mudalyars and the promises of the whole garrison of improvement in the future, the matter was left in abeyance.

On the 28th (August) there was received a letter from Colombo from General Don Philippo saying that His Honour will only send our prisoners there (Galle) when we released his prisoners and that he did not intend to pay 1,000 reals for Ignatio ( ) to which His Honour could by no mean consent.

Don Philippo does not in his letter make mention of any prisoners taken in the encounter of Captain de Riviere's detachment, but His Honour understood from the letter-carrier that 8 persons were brought to Colombo and the rest were dead, but whether there were any officers among them did he not know.

The traitor St. Daman does not desist from daily writing letters containing large promises to the soldiers with the result that two Scotch sentries, scoundrels that they were, deserted to him.

Copy of a letter from the scoundrel and traitor St. Daman addressed to Jan Thyssen and other officers of the City of Galle:—

I cannot refrain from congratulating you on the splendid victory over the Fort of Ambogna and the other forts of the said island, and would have done so earlier had it not been that I always thought that you had already heard about it. But being given to understand by the two soldiers Jan Pietersen and Thomas Pietersen that you have not heard of the same I inform you of the same in a friendly spirit, saying further that I am surprised at the great audacity of Captain Riviere who presumes to deliver me into the hands of Heer Antonio van Diemen. I want to know how he has become such an experienced soldier. I cannot conceive how except it be with strumpets or the arrack pot with which he has been all his life a brave soldier. I say this as knowing him well and shall in good time make him know, this guardian of strumpets, seeing that our prisoners there are put in chains which is against right and reason, which shows that you know more about rigging a ship than military rules, and how you wish that we should treat **your people**. Still another copy, addressed to all gallant soldiers of the fortress of Galle, free convoy for all soldiers, the contents being also written in French. I cannot refrain from regretting the death of so many brave soldiers who had better died in the service of the King. It is high time you opened your eyes and not shed your blood and live only for the profit of a few merchants who deceive you in every way. I, on the contrary expect to receive you into my arms and show you all favours, and those who serve His Majesty will get every satisfaction,

and those who want to go to their country can go there as they like, with payment due to them as promised in the other letter. The roads are everywhere free and all blacks have orders to assist you in every way, as they have already done to the two Scotchmen, viz., Jan Pietersen and Thomas Pietersen of whom one will voluntarily serve the King here, and the other, with payment for the four years which he has served the Company, goes back to his country.

As regards provisions His Honour can go on with the rice for nearly another year, but as regards beet, bacon and arrack, cannot go on longer than next January, by which time His Honour expects to be further provided, and in order that the rascally letters of St. Daman may not hinder the men, this is not the time to give them less than ordinary rations, so that they may have no reason or occasion to flee to the enemy through want of food.

His Honour had for the last  $4\frac{1}{2}$  months received no intelligence from Baticalo or the Kandyan King, except that he learnt from the aforesaid letter-carrier that an Ambassador from Kandy has been twice in Colombo.

Those in Colombo gave out that they were expecting 18 to 20 *fusten* in October with a large force of soldiers from Goa, when they intended to make the most of their opportunity. And as His Honour understood from our letters that no reinforcements of any consequence will be sent there this year, he desired that two or three well-equipped *jachts* may be sent to prevent the designs of the enemy on the coast line. His Honour had appointed the Lieutenant Jan Symonsen van der Laan in command of the military in the place of Captain de Riviere till further orders and until the appointment of any other officers by us.

On the 5th (December) His Honour had received by the *jacht* "Limmen" our letters of the 20th September

together with the 24 soldiers, provisions, munitions of war and other necessities except the rice which according to the invoice was 6 loads short. And His Honour sent the aforesaid ship with 50 men and letters to the commandeur outside the bay respecting the state of Galle and the enemy's forces and condition in Ceylon, to the roadstead of Goa.

His Honour says also that to besiege Colombo the forces should consist of two divisions, the one on the Negombo side and the other on the Galle side, and each division, to be fit to attack the enemy, ought to be not less than 2,000 men.

With the reinforcements of 30 men from Paliacatte and 10 soldiers from Batticaloa the strength of the garrison was 395 with which His Honour, with God's help, hoped to defend himself against the enemy. His Honour had on the 2nd sent the opperkoopman Gerrit Moutmaker with the *jachts* "Leeq" and "Lieffde" to Colombo to find out whether any exchange of prisoners could be agreed on, when at last he succeeded so far that the Ensign *Westrenen* and 7 sailors were exchanged for five of their prisoners with a promise of liberating three more of their prisoners in the fleet at Goa, there remaining unreleased Ignatio Sermiento with us, and the onderkoopman Oudermeulen who they say had offered much money for his ransom.

On the 10th His Honour sent Moutmaeker again to Colombo expressly to see whether any money could be received for the ransom of Ignatio: otherwise to exchange him for Oudermeulen, also to send the letter of Francisco Sousa Castro to Don Philippo.

The King's brother the Prince of Uva had been some days in Colombo, being it is said very hospitably entertained by Don Philippo at a place called Malvana a little outside Colombo.

On the 18th September there died the *schipper* Hans Arentsen, and His Honour had appointed *schipper* Frans Maetsuyeker to the *jacht* "Leeeq" in his place and the opperstierman Adriaen Bollaert appointed Captain of the said *jacht*.

The opperkoopman Marschalck advises under date 14th October from Batticaloa to President Jan Thyssen as follows.—

That since the departure of the "Waterhont" and "Cappelle" the Prince of Matale had conquered the whole country Coutiazum and had appointed a new Governor in his name at Camandare over all his chiefs in all the villages, so that the land and the laws appear to be altered, but after the King had collected and sent from 5 to 6.000 men to Coulassen, the Prince's Governor had fled with his following to Uva and on the way most of His Majesty's people had been killed, so that things are now in a better state, but not as they should be.

His Honour, whilst the Prince was so raging, had received various letters from him full of courtesies and compliments expressive of his good disposition towards him with offers of safeguarding his interests in every respect if he will protect and assist him against his brother Raga Singa, and among other things being desirous to know His Honour's real intention whether he was minded to assist him or not. Whereupon the koopman Marschalck had replied that he did not require his services and that he acknowledged in Ceylon no other than Raja Singa who would provide him with all necessaries. His Honour had sent all the letters received from the Prince of Matule with an express courier to Kandy and had, on the 30th August, been honoured for this with a gold chain from His Majesty.

Nicolaas Holsteyn, by various letters from Kandy of the 19th September and in the Emperor's camp of the 12th and 23rd August, advises Marschalck.

That on the 1st August the three dissavas that were sent out, with their force of about 400 men had obtained a glorious victory close to Pargangaine in Vienterre against those from Uva, and had defeated about 600 men, among whom were some of the highest rank, as *Singa Apules*, and some dissave chiefs whom they had brought to Kandy.

On the 21st His Majesty's brother at Uva had sent an ola to His Majesty with half an arecanut as a token of assurance, which meant nothing more than a pretence of making peace with His Majesty.

The inhabitants of Uva had all fled to His Majesty and therefore His Majesty was about to send some heathen priests to Alubassa to bring his brother into friendship with him. The 33 Portuguese who were released by His Majesty's brother (to bring him a reinforcement of 300 Portuguese to Uva) were murdered on their way to Colombo by the Singalese people of Saffragam.

His Majesty had received from Colombo a letter from Antonio Marschado de Silva, by which His Majesty is requested that he (Antonio) and some of his followers may be spared when we conquered Colombo and therefore he would be pleased to recommend them to His Honour the President or Admiral and other chief officers.

His Majesty's garrison was thought to be 15,000 strong and everyone was ordered on pain of death not to leave the camp.

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### 28th January 1642.

On the 28th January 1642 there arrives here the *fluitschip* "Dolphyn," bringing a letter from Commander Cornelius Blaauw, dated 7th December, in which he advises. . . . that he had received a letter from the President Jan Thyssen giving in detail the state of affairs in Galle.



There arrived by the "Dolphyn", which were transshipped in the *jacht* "Venlo" and sent to the Vice-Commander. His Honour had, with the approval of the Council and on the report of Sr. Blocq (regarding the news from the priest) about the designs of Mascarins on Punte Gale, sent the said *jacht* to President Jan Thyssen, but through the thoughtlessness of the Commanders of both the *jachts* viz., "Venlo" and "Limmen" coming from Punte Gale and meeting each other at Cabo de Comarin were foiled in their good intentions, for the "Limmen," coming from Punte Gale with letters from the President in which the condition of affairs (in Galle) was fully stated, and which could have been verbally communicated to our friends, resolved, with the others, as the "Venlo" maintained that she was sent there to receive this information, to return together to the Bay (Goa) and the President was deprived of these important despatches (from Batavia). For this His Honour caused them to be prosecuted by the Fiscal as an example to others, and, in order to secure that his instructions were better obeyed in the future.

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The President Jan Thyssen advises from Galle the Commander Quast under date 12th November 1641 concerning the enemy's force in the Island of Ceylon (according to some Portuguese deserters) to consists of 900 Europeans divided into 22 companies and about 3 to 4000 Sinhalese divided into 3 camps, under the command of Don Antonio Mascarinis brother of the General Don Philippo who was with his force at a place called Manqurewaere, the third under the command of Antonio de Motta was at Saffragam, the other under the command of Antonio Admiral about Gale, being 14 companies of Europeans and from 1 to 1,200 Sinhalese, who since the 12th May up to date were occupying the

jungle to prevent provisions being brought by the natives to the Fort of Galle. And they had succeeded, as those at Galle had not, within  $5\frac{1}{2}$  months received anything in Galle (except what the people had brought in with great risk) so that His Honour had to be satisfied with what was sent from Batavia.

He also says that there are about 4 to 5,000 *Casados* in Colombo, and he believes, although Don Antonio had asked the Viceroy for reinforcements from Goa, he will not leave the place, as this Genearl is firmly convinced that so long as Raja Singa's Ambassadors from here do not appear there, a great force (Dutch) from here (Galle) may go there (Colombo) against which he is daily fortifying himself. Therefore His Honour was of opinion (if Commander Quast and his Council think fit to make any attempt on Colombo) in such a case not less than 2,000 men would be required not only to resist the Portuguese but also the Sinhalese. For no reliance can be placed in King Raja Singa (who gives out that he is at war with his brother) and therefore cannot assist Galle, but says that as soon as the desired reinforcements shall arrive from Batavia, he (the King) with in all haste unite his forces with ours. Which, however, is a mere promise without performance as was the case opposite St. Cruz de Gale, for the Sinhalese (after we had through God's help and the bravery of our soldiers taken the place by storm) soon came to the works to share in the booty, so that His Honour maintained that we could not depend on the King. The Portuguese had, through fear of the arrival of our reinforcements, caused to be sent to Colombo, as soon as the same was cut and ready, all the cinnamon, lest it should fall into our hands, so that this year (unless Colombo is conquered) there is no chance of our getting any cinnamon, and if last year Raja Singa had adopted a similar course (of sending the cinnamon to Gale) the Company would have received not less than 700 *bhares*.

His Honour says that the only way to get the cinnamon when our reinforcements arrive (if there is yet any landwards which there is not) would be to give the King an opportunity when we besiege Colombo to cause the same to be brought to us by the natives, for if we rely on getting it with our force, we shall, being half suspected by the King, be altogether tied down, and it is not possible, without being guided and helped by the natives, to get any cinnamon at all. And to make them favourably disposed to us we cannot, in the Portuguese way, bring it about by force, as the inhabitants of the low lands where the cinnamon grows are all again under the rule of the Portuguese, without the King making any reference to this fact, viz. the 4-7 Corles and also Satrigam with its dependencies. So it is not possible in the first instance to bring this people over to us except by means of a large force sufficient to vanquish the Portuguese. For the tendency of these people is always towards the winning side. The Portuguese who have been so many years in this island and ought to have a good knowledge of the country, themselves cannot, without the help of the natives, obtain the smallest quantity of cinnamon. They have therefore taken all the cinnamon peelers with their wives and children (as they are now masters of the field) from Gale and Mature to Colombo. Negumbo, as His Honour learns, is garrisoned with a small force, and most of the guns have been taken to Colombo. They hold this place merely as a defence against the natives. They do not suspect that we shall again undertake to capture it, but if we make any attempt in that direction, they think that they can resist us with their whole force which they can collect within 2 or 3 days. His Honour however thinks that if we could effect a sudden landing they would not succeed in their hopes. But it would be a difficult place to hold.

The enemy have stationed themselves with their force of 350 Europeans and 1,000 Sinhalese about two miles from Gale on the other side of a river, and had devastated as much as possible everything they could get at, so that all about here landwards is waste, in consequence of which the enemy also are in want and can get nothing unless it is brought from a distance.

On the 30th August, as we could get from outside no provisions (except what had to be got by foraging parties, with great risk, from the jungle) Captain Walraven de Riviere, Lieutenant Jacob Gants, the provisional ensign Adam Halvinck with the sergeants by name Casper Homan and Hendrick Claessen were sent out with a party, altogether consisting of 90 men, and having come to a narrow pass about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles outside Gale, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the enemy who were in ambush, so that we lost 28 men of whom 8 were taken alive to Colombo, and 20, among whom were Captain Riviere, Lieutenant Gants, Ensign Helvinck, killed, and a Sergeant, who after his return to Gale died the same day, by which loss, together with 40 persons who died of dropsy, dysentery and other ordinary diseases, the garrison is much weakened. His Honour therefore thought fit (on account of the great boasting of the enemy about their reinforcements which they said would reach them by October when they would in earnest attack us) to send the *jacht* "Leeq" by way of Baticaloa to Coromandel to the Governor Gardenys and to ask him if he could spare some men from there to send them to him, whereupon His Honour had sent by the said *jacht* "Leeq" on the 28th October lost and by the fluitschip "Capelle" a reinforcement of 40 persons with supplies of provisions, ammunition and other necessaries. His Honour had also from here by the *jacht* "Limmen" received some supplies of provisions and ammunition so that as yet they are well provided

till further relief, the garrison in Gale consisting of 396 men of whom 30 are down with dropsy and other ailments, there remaining the *jachts* "Lieffde" and "Leeeq" manned by 72 persons, with which force His Honour hoped, with God's help, to be able to defend Gale against the designs of the enemy. And His Honour does not make much of their arrival so that if the Commander Quast has thought of undertaking anything as regards Goa, His Honour need not be anxious so far as he Thyssen was concerned.

With the ships "Waterhont" and "Capelle" there were sent to His Honour 6 Portuguese prisoners for the release of the onderkoopman Anthonio van der Oudermeulen and the ensign Jan van Westrenen hostages from Negumba, which release could not be effected before His Honour had sent the koopman Gerrit Moutmaccker with *jachts* "de Lieffde" and "Leeeq" before the bay of Colombo to see whether nine of our prisoners could not be released, which the said Moutmaccker had succeeded in doing. He received back eight of our prisoners against whom five of their imprisoned were released on the condition that we should owe them three more, and in order to carry this out before the bay of Goa, His Honour requested Commandeur Quast at the earliest opportunity, to fulfil his request by landing these three persons at Goa. The enemy were not willing to pay the sum of 1,000 reals fixed by the General for the ransom of the son of Loope Sermento (senior) but pretended that they would exchange the onderkoopman van der Oudermeulen for him, who, they said, had promised 2,000 reals for his ransom, which condition of the General's could not be accepted by His Honour.

Our prisoners in Colombo declared that the brother of King Raija Singa had landed there in the enemy's

quarters with some lascoreens or Sinhalese soldiers whose arrival can cause us little profit and still less for Raija Singa.

The people in Colombo were daily working hard in fortifying the city but understanding that a new King had been chosen in Portugal and that already there was a truce with the Dutch in those parts, had ceased this work, firmly believing that this Treaty of Peace will bind us and them here in the Indies.

The onderkoopman Claes Cornelisen Blocq advises under date 25th October from Ragies Bach. . . . that the enemy having sent most of their men to Ceylon, had made soldiers of 1,000 papists with which force, together with the burglary and natives (expecting peace), it seemed that they had to defend themselves and to pay little regard to the threats and fine promises of the Moors.

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### 21st February 1642.

On the 21st February there was received by the *caraecq* a letter from the Commandeur Cornelis Leendersen Blauw of the 27th December written on board the “’s Hartogenbosch” opposite Goa, by which he advises . . . . .that the *jacht* . . . . .“Limmen” was sent to St. Cruz de Gaelle to acquaint the President of his arrival with the ships “’s Hartogenbosch,” “Wasse-naar,” “Valkenburgh” and the *jacht* “Roemerswael” with 160 soldiers and 400 sailors so that he may consult with him as to where the most profit can be derived from the enemy, also to inform us where His Honour would arrive with his fleet in Ceylon. His Honour also intended and it was so resolved in Council (seeing that nothing could be accomplished in Goa or its Fort on account of its strength and consequently his whole fleet was not required there) to try his luck with the aforesaid ships in Ceylon and to leave on the 5th January, leaving for

the blockade of Goa the ships "Hollandia," "Harderwyk," "Egmond" and "Venlos" manned by 333 whites, 115 Portuguese prisoners and 17 blacks, which His Honour thought was a sufficient force with which to engage the enemy in case of attack, over which ships he had appointed as Commandeur the opperkoopman Claes Cornelissen Blocq. . . The skipper Roemert Roemerssen and onderkoopman Antonio de Boey, as they had not carried out the orders of the Commandeur and Council to convey important despatches to the President *Jan Thyssen* and had not acquitted themselves as they ought to have in the encounter with the *caffilas* (about 44 frigates) were dismissed from office by the Council and their pay confiscated. . . . On the 11th February at night there passed the coast and arrived opposite Cananor the *caffel* from Ceylon and Cochin. . . .

On the 24th April 1642 there arrived here the *jacht* "de Zeeuse Nachtegael" bringing a letter dated 16th March from the Commandeur Cornelis Leendertsen Blauw written on board the "'s Hartogenbosch" in the Bay of St. Cruz de Gaele by which he advises as follows:— . . .

During the voyage His Honour had much to contend against. . . . so that he did not reach the Island of Ceylon before the 10th February. On his arrival close to Negumbo His Honour met there the *jachts* "Lieffde" and "Nachtegael". also opposite Colombo the Commandeur Bouwens with the ships "Bergen op Zoom," "Armuyden" and "Bredam," and there came in the evening to him the President Jan Thyssen with the *jacht* "Limmen," whereupon His Honour at once sent the *chaloup* with the Secretary on board to ask whether His Honour would like to come on board or wished that he should go to him. Finally the President with the Commandeur Bouwens came on board His Honour's ship, and after some discussion as to the command of the fleet, as the Council were divided in opinion on this

point, it was finally decided that the President Jan Thyssen (so far as Ceylon affairs were concerned) should have precedence and command, the Commandeur Blauw taking the second and the Commandeur Bouwens the third place. . . . The President Jan Thyssen advises by the said *jacht* in a letter dated 16th March from Ceylon:—

That there appeared there on the 30th November the *jacht* "Franiker" with some tin, and on the 16th December the ships "Bergen op Zoom," "Armuyden" and the *jacht* "de Cleyne Sterre" and on the 20th the *jacht* "Bredam" by way of Baticalo (where one of the Ambassadors of the King of Kandy was landed) and also the *jacht* "Ackerslooth". That our letters and other connected papers were received from the "Bergen op Zoom" and handed by Commandeur Bouwens to His Honour but in consequence of his small force he could not carry out his designs. . . .

On the 10th February there appeared before His Honour the Commandeur Blauw with the ships "'s Hartogenbosch," "Valkenburgh," "Wassenaer," and "Roemerswael" with whose arrival His Honour's force consisted of 12 *jachts*, good ships, amounting to about 1100 men of whom roughly speaking not more than 600 could be landed (putting aside the disabled sick and infirm) with which force it was not possible to undertake anything against Colombo seeing that the enemy's force consisted of 1,500 Europeans and about 2,000 Singalese.

The enemy (relying on the Treaty of Peace made in Holland between us and them) had put off the fortification of Colombo, but as soon as they became aware of the arrival of our ships, had begun it again, and had (notwithstanding that the fleet of the Commandeur Bouwens had arrived here) returned to Colombo only in the beginning of January, when a day before their



departure a certain soldier of the ship "Bergen op Zoom" deserted to them. His Honour had resolved (seeing that all places where people could land were defended with a large force of the enemy) to go with the whole fleet to Alycan (where the King's Governor was with 3 to 400 lascoreens) to gather what their intentions were. The enemy had at once gone to Caleture and more than half of the King's forces had fled into the jungle so that His Honour said that no reliance could be placed on such people.

His Honour had also decided to sail with his whole fleet out of sight of land and then afterwards land before the wind at Paneture (being about 4 miles south of Colombo) but in consequence of contrary north winds and currents he could not get out of sight of land and was obliged to keep close to land.

His Honour however had caused his whole fleet to get into the small *jachts* and when they had for reconnoitering purposes anchored beyond range of the enemy's guns from the fort opposite the river, with the intention of landing with his entire force, the project was vetoed by the whole Council from the ensigns upwards, and it was not considered advisable to land as the enemy was lying under cover in the jungles at all points of entry so that (in view of the enemy's large force) they had there to altogether desist from their designs which was not what His Honour expected would happen.

On the 27th February His Honour received a letter from the King desiring us to land with our force, under promises of much assistance, which request was as politely as possible refused by His Honour, seeing that the sea was getting rougher every day and it was not possible to land, and that nothing could be done without a long siege, being somewhat weak to withstand the large force of the enemy.

It was therefore thought advisable (as nothing could be done there) to go with the whole fleet to Galle and from there (with previous intimation to the Governor Gardenys) to leave for Coromandel with hope of doing something better to the advantage of the General Company.

The request of the King's Ambassador that we should land the soldiers from the ships and join them to the King's forces on land, was refused on the condition that His Honour would inform the Governor-General of the proposal and request him to allow 500 soldiers to be used here about the middle or end of June in return for which they promised to deliver a good quantity of cinnamon by November, which His Honour says will be brought about when he is master of the field.

His Honour had also on the request of the Ambassador (but on the condition that we should be provided with a shipload of cinnamon) and with the advice of Council thought fit, in order to divert for some time the attention of the enemy, to allow the ships "Bergen op Zoom", "Armuyden", "Wassenaer", "Valckenburgh" and the *jachts* "Liefde," "Limmen" "Leecq", "Roemerswael" and the "Cleyne Sterre" to remain under the command of Dominicus Bouwens opposite Colombo till the 20th March when he would sail for Galle with the aforesaid ships to proceed from there on the 25th to Coromandel. On the 5th there appeared in the Bay of Galle sent by the Governor Gardenys to His Honour, the ship "'s Hartogenbosch" with the Commandeur Blauw from the Bay of Colombo in company with the *jacht* "Lis" with a cargo of . . . and the aforesaid *jacht* "Lis" left on the 9th with His Honour's despatches on the state of affairs there and as to when the fleet should start from there to Coromandel to get His Honour's despatches concerning Negapatnam.

The port of Baticaloa was in the name of the Governor-General offered to the Kandyan King undertaking to remove the garrison therefrom and it was intended to surrender the same to him (in spite of non-delivery by him of the 1000 bhares of cinnamon) which offer His Majesty accepted. It was therefore resolved, with the advice of the Council, to remove from there the guns, ammunition of war and other things found there of use to us.

His Honour had up to date received at a guess not more than 25 to 30 bhares, and is doubtful whether more will follow, as the rainy season for peeling cinnamon was past.

Further His Honour thinks (if 500 soldiers could be sent there by the end of May or middle of June) when they are joined to His Majesty's forces they could obtain most of the cinnamon, which arrangement His Honour sought of the Governor-General. But, on the other hand, so long as the enemy remained master of Colombo and the field there was little or no cinnamon to be got by us.

The present and letters sent from here to the Kandyan King still remained at Galle, the reason being (says His Honour) that no one can be found willing to take the same to His Majesty for fear of being detained. His Honour had therefore written to His Majesty to send someone to receive the aforesaid present and hand it to His Majesty as the roads were unsafe for our people. Thereupon His Majesty replied that as it was a present it ought to be presented to him and not be fetched by his people, so that His Honour would be obliged to resolve to send someone with it to the Court.

His Honour also intended to keep there the *jachts* "Limmen," "Roemerswael" and the "Cleyne Sterre" and to send here the "Lieffde" and "Leecq" which had to be overhauled, and to increase the garrison to the

number of 450 men, hoping that the said project, being necessary, would be favourably entertained by His Honour.

They had not as yet been able to get in the *catas* money for the relief of the garrison, and only recovered 7 per cent from three *champons* from the coast which arrived with some cloth. But they objected to this saying that it is not customary to levy customs duty at two places, whereupon His Honour told them that it was not a toll but a fixed duty.

His Honour states that about 800 men (among them being included 33 from Baticalo) would sail from there to the coast with the fleet under the command of Commandeurs Blauw and Bouwens.

His Honour says that if the Portuguese are driven away from the country he would set about engaging some Singalese (as soldiers?) if this would be agreeable to the King and that there would be no lack of natives, but he thinks it not advisable at present to disclose this project to anybody.

His Honour would land from the ships six iron guns for which he could find suitable places, against which 10 from Baticalo should be brought on board, the garrison being tolerably well provided with ammunition and provisions. The mortars and their belongings and the gunner would also be sent here. His Honour also requests that another person should be sent in place of the deceased proponent Jacob Pieterssen authorized to administer the Holy Sacrament and to perform the ceremonies of baptism and marriage. His Honour had kept there the Predikant Marines but feared that His Honour would take this amiss.

The Commandeur Dominicus Louwens advises by letter dated 5 March from Ceylon in substance as follows:—

After taking leave of the Governor of Malacca Jan

van Twist on the 14th November to proceed to Ceylon His Honour resolved to make for Poulo Laeden. . . and on the 2nd December left for Ceylon. On the 4th His Honour had sent to Baticalo with the *jacht* "Bredam" one of the Ambassadors of the Kandyan King with a letter to the operkoopman Laurens de Marschalck, asking the aforesaid Marschalck that as soon as the Ambassador shall have landed, to send the said *jacht* to Galle as soon as possible with the soldiers ordered and news of what has taken place there.

On the 12th His Honour passed the Great Basses experiencing there variable winds and calms and arrived on the evening of the 16th in the harbour of Galle delivering the letters of the Governor-General to the President Jan Thyssen.

As regards the Portuguese His Honour says there are in the island about 1,500 European soldiers, besides the Singalese and caffres. That they have by the river Gindere, about 2 miles from Galle a force of about 400 whites and 2,000 blacks, with which they as good as hold Galle in siege. Besides the Portuguese rule all the low lands, so that they have all the cinnamon in their hands.

His Honour also thinks that we can never more expect any favours from the King there, and that without a large force (which His Honour reckons at least at 2,000 men) nothing of any importance can be accomplished.

On the 10th December there arrived there the *jacht* "Bredam" with some provisions and on the 23rd the *jacht* "Ackersloth" with various merchandize which left on the 28th for Souratte and Persia with a letter from the President Jan Thyssen to the Commandeur Quast.

On the 31st the *jachts* "Lieffde" "Leccq" and the "Sterre" were sent from the harbour of Galle to cruise

about Colombo and to prevent the enemy's succours arriving there from Goa or Cochin.

On this date His Honour, in company with the President in a small boat and a company of 100 soldiers by land, left for the river Gindere. Having come there they found that the camp and paths were blocked by hewn trunks of trees. His Honour with the President and two or three musketeers went across and set fire to a watch house of the enemy, they having fled from there on hearing of our arrival, which created suspicion in their minds, thinking that we intended to cut off their approaches to Colombo and then attack them. Thereupon the Portuguese and their followers retired from Mature and Bolligam and the camp by the river Gindere was so hastily broken up in confusion that they left behind a part of their baggage.

On the 5th January the President, at the request of the Ceylon Ambassador embarked in the *jacht* "Franiker" and directed their course to the bay of Colombo their force consisting (with the 80 soldiers from Galle, 30 of the Governor Gardenys and 15 from Baticalo with 100 of the fleet among them some disabled, sick and youths) of 225 soldiers and 481 sailors.

On the 8th His Honour anchored in the roads of Colombo, finding there the *jachts* "Lieffde," "Leecq," "de Sterre" and the "Zeeuse Nachtegael" and causing at once with appropriate signal the President on board the "Bergen op Zoom" to hold his Council, and it was resolved by them, as the Zealand *jacht* "Ackerslooth" could not sail, to tranship the merchandize from the said *jacht* into the "Franiker" and send the same to Persia. .

At the request of the Singalese Ambassador, they sailed on the 10th to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms within cannon shot of the enemy before Colombo and fired at the city. The enemy in answering the fire fired too short, with the intention of drawing them closer, but seeing that this

did not take place they trained most their guns on the "Bergen op Zoom" (as they saw that the Ambassadors were on board that ship) and fired four rounds and one into the gallery of the aforesaid Bergen, so that the Ambassador Condenerael nearly lost both his legs, whereupon, being alarmed, they ran out of the gallery and betook themselves to another *jacht*, so that after that there was no more talk of lying close to the city.

Those of the *jacht* "Bredam" had also received two letters written to the soldiers by a deserter Jan Stancke, the contents of which were the same as those of St. Daman. These letters were put in a pot on a float with a little white flag and allowed to drift to the ships. On the 18th June there reached by the ship the "Engelsen Swaen" by way of Batavia, a letter from Claes Cornelissen Block *via* Coromandel dated 16th February A.o. 1642 on board the ship "Hollandia," lying opposite the bay of Goa, advising as follows:—

That on the 18th January the *jacht* "Franicker" coming with a cargo which was transhipped from the "Zeeuwsche Nachtegael" to be taken to Surat and Persia, in the night with 16 Portuguese frigates, drifting quietly at night, caught fire and was destroyed, killing all except 3 sailors and 2 cabin boys. According to the surviving sailors this wreck was occasioned by the fire reaching the grenades in the gun room and afterwards the gunpowder.

The *jacht* "Ackersloth," which had passed Ceylon on the 21st and was proceeding on its journey to Surat and Persia on the 22nd, had unexpectedly met 16 Portuguese frigates and if the Portuguese had then the courage to attack her, as the ship, according to the captain, was in disorder at the time and in imminent risk before she could sail away, we should have been subject to much peril.

On the 14th July there arrived here the *jacht* "Venloo" bringing two letters one dated 31st March and the other the 22nd May from the President Jan Thyssen from the city of Galle in Ceylon wherein he advises us as follows:—

That on the 23rd March the Commandeur Dominicus Bouwens with the ships "Bergen op Zoom", "Armuyden", Wassenaer", Valkenburgh", the *jachts* "Bredam", "Liefde", "Limmen", "Leeck", "Romerswael" and "de Cleene Sterre" had arrived there from the bay of Colombo, on whose departure all the inhabitants took to flight, some to Galle and others to the jungle, so that the whole country is to the benefit of the enemy and we are deprived of the supplies which were available to us since the 1st January. Therefore His Honour, with the advice of the Council and at the request of the King's Governor there, had sent 150 soldiers to the pass of Vacquerelle, being two miles from Galle, to prevent the enemy from crossing the river, so that the approaches for bringing us provisions may be safe for the natives: otherwise there would be no means of getting anything there.

The present to the King was sent by His Honour with the interpreter Pieter la Faber by way of Baticalo, as the other roads were unsafe, with orders to ask for a short answer to the letter of the Governor-General.

The Fort of Baticalo would be delivered over to the King by the Commandeurs Blauw and Bouwens, after removing everything belonging to or useful to us. What merchandize should be delivered as a return for and reduction of the expenses borne by us, will be announced in due course by the Commandeurs.

By the *jacht* "Valckenburgh" His Honour sends 78 bhares of cinnamon which is all they could get, with the excuse that all the cinnamon peelers had run away through fear of the Portuguese, expecting however to



send a large quantity by next August or September, of which however His Honour could see no chance unless the garrison was so strengthened that we could by our arms obtain the required means.

The Portuguese in the field were 2,200 and more whites and 2,000 Singalese, so that they are now as powerful as ever they were in the Island and without a considerable force nothing of any consequence or profit can be accomplished as regards Colombo. All Singalese refugees desirous of coming inside the Fort were allowed to do so, and if the Singalese Governor, with his 200 Singalese who are thereabout, desires it, they would also be received. And although there were about 1,000 Singalese in Galle there was nothing to fear, for they can do little harm as the walls are all closed.

The garrison was strengthened by 450 men, and all time-expired men and those who did not wish to remain were discharged, there remaining the *jachts* "Limmen," "Romerswael" and the "Sterre" manned by 96 men provided with supplies for 6 months.

The ships "'s Hartogenbosch", Bergen op Zoom", "Armuyden", "Wassenaer", "Valckenburgh", the *jachts* "Bredam", "Liefde" and "Leecq" manned by 743 men, would leave by the first opportunity, and on board the "Bredam" His Honour was sending besides a mortar with 51 grenades together with the gunners.

The Dissave, who with his people and 150 soldiers was to prevent the enemy crossing the river at Vacquerelle had fled, so His Honour learnt on finishing this letter, with all his people to Matara, so that his projected designs remain frustrated.

By a letter dated 22nd May His Honour advises by the aforesaid ship that the enemy is again at Matara with 14 *distancies* of soldiers to prevent any provisions or other necessaries being brought by the inhabitants of Galle, so that in two months we have not received

anything from outside. The enemy's force, so far as His Honour could gather from the news from Colombo, consists of 28 to 29 *distancies* of soldiers divided into two divisions of which one consisting of 14 *distancies* was under the Command of Anthonio de Motta and the other of like strength under the Command of Anthonio Mascarines in Manicreware, there being further a *distancie* in Alican, this being all the force (except the burgers in Colombo) which the Portuguese had in the said Island.

His Honour maintained with rice at the Company's cost, 150 Singalese lascoreens and some coolies or cinnamon peelers with their wives and children to (as the results wonderfully justified) encourage and draw them to us.

By the *jacht* "Venlo" there was sent to His Honour by the Director Croock from Surat by way of Goa 292½ lbs. of opium amounting to the sum of F559.7 and they were abundantly supplied with it and for the present they would not want any more, seeing that no natives come there to ask for anything from outside.

By the *jacht* the "Zeeuwsche Nachtegael" he had asked for such things as were then necessary, but as the garrison was somewhat larger, His Honour asked that the following should be sent:—

50 pieces ordinary plain satin,  
Some good coloured do,  
Some double damask,  
300 pieces of sarsenet,  
300 ordinary plain hats,  
300 silk socks or at least some woollen yarn,  
50 coloured buttons,  
300 dried leather shoes,  
40 hides of Spanish leather with some leather to  
make sheaths of

10 hides of sole-leather,  
30 pieces serge or *sempetranen* and some flints for  
the fire-locks.

His Honour also writes that in addition to the distilling cauldrons already sent, two more should be sent, as the whole garrison of Galle could be provided with arrack.

The King's brother who had gone over to the Portuguese in Colombo in October was suspected and almost kept as a prisoner by them, and it is said that he intended to return to Kandy.

His Honour caused the fort of Galle on the land side (as there were now natives there) to be fortified and the moat, which was 30 feet wide, was made 10 feet wider and 3 feet deeper.

The President sends with the said ship a letter to him of the 26th March and another to the Governor-General dated the 20th from the assistant Holstein in which *inter alia* he states that he had often asked of the King for the cinnamon, elephants and other things which he had promised in return for the great expenses incurred in his service, when His Majesty had always promised to give the same, and as regards the price, as soon as our army appeared before Colombo, he would liquidate the debt to the Governor-General's satisfaction.

Further the said Holstein apologized for the wrongly recorded agreement with many protestations that it was due to hasty translation. He also sends a forged letter addressed to him purporting to be written by Jan Thyssen under date 26th August 1642:—

Dear Friend,

This is to inform you of the great want which kills me through sickness and hunger. And besides most of our men were out with Captain Riviere and were overwhelmed and killed by the Portuguese. We doubt whether reinforcements will arrive from

Batavia in consequence of the larger numbers who fell before Malacca, not to mention the bad news received from Ambon that that fort was attacked and taken by the Spaniards. And so, dear friend, if you could by some device flee to Baticalo, and, if not, to the Prince of Metalee, who is close by here and who has already sought our friendship, it would be a good thing. We can no longer rely on the King of Kandy as he is treacherous. Herewith dear friend I command you to the lap of the Almighty who will grant us this blessing. Done in the city of Galle on the 26th August 1642.

Your dear friend in everything,

Jan Thyssen.

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On the 3rd November there was received by the ship “’s Hartogenbosch” by way of Coromandel, a letter from the President Jan Thyssen dated the 1st September 1642 by which His Honour advises:—

That nothing remarkable or worth writing about occurred since his last letter of the 22nd May written to the Governor-General. The Captain van der Laen with 150 soldiers and as many Singalese were sent to Cogili, Vacquelle and Arragone to get provisions and had brought about 50 buffaloes and some paddy. Further our people had not suffered as last year with dropsy, beriberi, diarrhœa and sore legs so that this year (thank God) we had few deaths.

The enemy kept themselves very quiet without snorting at this and that, and no letters, like in the previous year, were sent here by Don Philipppo. His Honour says that if the King is seriously minded towards us, it will not be difficult to drive the Portuguese from Matura and Bellingam. It appears that he seeks to smother us under his burden and to side the Portuguese.

Notwithstanding that the President has often written to His Majesty he has not for the last six

months received any answer or the slightest information from His Majesty, so that the position is not cheerful.

His Honour had sent the *jacht* "de Sterre" to Coromandel to get the clothes for the garrison asked from Governor Gardenys last March and also to get from him 200 *lasts* of rice and other necessaries, as many inhabitants (without bringing anything with them) had come within (the fort of) Galle. So that they felt greatly the want of rice and were obliged to sell publicly 22 *lasts* at 40,000 per *last* (as it cost in Batavia) for their money, but the lascoreens, who were from 125 to 170 adults were maintained at the expense of the Company.

How much we are suspected by the Singalese nation could, says His Honour, be easily gathered from the expedition of the Captain vander Laan on the 17th of last month. The Captain wished with his 130 soldiers and all the Singalese lascoreens there, to take an unknown road, to see the lay of the land. For this purpose the Captain desired that some lascoreens should go with him in order that, if he lost his way, he may be guided in the right direction. The lascoreens were willing to do this but a certain modeliaar there hearing of this, caused the said lascoreens to return, except one who did not regard the command of the modeliaar so that the Captain carrying his intentions into effect and returning reported to have discovered an excellent piece of country with fine meadows and flat fields, and the Singalese, through fear or jealousy that we should on this account be minded to conquer Ceylon, were not willing to make the same known.

His Honour was provided with rice for not more than 5, and with bacon and beef for 4 months. In the meantime His Honour hoped to be provided from the coast of Coromandel and from Batavia.

Some parts of the ramparts of the Fort of Galle had come down in consequence of the heavy rains so that

he could not get anyone to repair the same unless satisfied with rice, as the people there do nothing without food. That there are many coconut trees thereabout is a great boom to the people, as they mostly depend on them for their sustenance.

Many of the Company's slaves, caffies as well as Canarese, whom they had in Galle, died in consequence of the continuous work and discomfort, so that His Honour out of 90, was left not more than 50.

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On the 31st August there arrived the *jachts* "Armuyden" . . . . from Palliacatte. With the said "Armuyden" the Ceylon Ambassadors or rather the letter carriers sent by Raja Singa arrived with a letter of little interest addressed to the Governor-General and Council.

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**EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.**

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

**No. 4. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDS:  
CIRCA A. C. 1683.**

**Foreword.**

Thirty years ago that indefatigable Orientalist, the late Mr. D. W. Ferguson, ever keen to snap up all unconsidered trifles of value in his spacious net, as Editor printed in the *Ceylon Monthly Register*, Vol. III, N.S., 1895, pp. 188-9, under the designation of "Olio," copy of an extract ("*A Description of ye Maldiva's*"), which he had himself made from the Original Correspondence of the old East India Company in the India Office.

Mr. Ferguson offered no comments on the Paper; beyond stating that it was "entered in the O.C. Catalogue as written subsequent to 1682"; and that the "timorous old man" of the narrative was "probably Íbráhím Iskandar, who according to Máldivian history reigned from A.C. 1648-9 to 1686-7."

The Paper is of sufficient quaintness and historical interest to warrant its re-publication, with explanatory Notes, in the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society. It is here printed *verbatim et literatim*.

This "Description of the Máldives" may well have been obtained from the Captain of the "Britannia", which reached Calcutta on July 1st, 1683 from the Máldive Islands, and reported the exciting experience there of the British vessel "Charles".

The episode is related in "*The Diary of Sir William Hedges*", 1681-87 (Hakluyt Society, No. 74, p.96):—

"July 1.—The Ship *Britania*, belonging to Mr. Dowglass, &ca., from ye Maldiv Islands arrived before ye Factory, bringing advice of ye Charles (a ship belonging to ye Honble Company) arrivall there: and that at their first going ashore, their first salutation from ye Natives was a shower of Stones and Arrows, whereby 6 of their Men were wounded, which made them immediately return on board, and by ye Mouths of their Guns forced them to a compliance, and permission to load what Cowries they would at Markett Price: so that in a few days time they sett sayle from thence for Surrat, with above 60 Tunn of Cowries."

### A DESCRIPTION OF YE MALDIVA'S.

*The Maldivia Islands* are said to contain 72,000 Islands<sup>1</sup> that are above Water, with many Shoals and Banks whereon they take their Cowries having on ym. 2, 3 or 4 foot Water. *The King's Island* or *Residence* is called *Maliva*<sup>2</sup> from wch. all in gen'rall are by us so called, Altho' improperly; Saving that one may term ym. ye Kingdom of *Maliva*.

*The King's Island* lies in Lattd. No. 4°. 10'.<sup>3</sup> It's Steep too, so yt. we ride at Anchor in 30 fathm, half a Cable's length off Shore in smooth water by 2 *Maquas*<sup>4</sup> ye one provided by ye King & for ye other we comonly pay a *Cady* of Rice (containing 7½ Bengall maunds) they yt. have not Rice pay ye value in othr goods.

The aforesaid *Maquas* are made of wood (being whole trees well trench-nail'd together like a Pyramid) & fill'd full of stones, & swepled round wth large Cables, each of them is carryed off betwixt boats, and sunk where ye Capt. of ye Ship pleases to ride: one of them holds 4 or 5 Tuns of stones and are fit to ride by only Rocky ground.

*The East-side* of those Islands are bold enough, either one degr. to ye Norwd. or one degree to ye Soard of ye Kings-Island; but to fall to ye Noard is best in ye months of Nov. Xber, Janry. Feby.; and to Soard at



other times.—So soon as you can discern ye Islands, you are sure of a boat or *Gunderah*<sup>5</sup> (so called by ye natives) who will take care to anchr. you in clean ground, and ye *Hoveldor*<sup>6</sup> or *Governour* of ye place where you anchr. sends speedily to ye *King*<sup>7</sup> to acquaint him; & in ye mean time will sell you fowles, Fish Coaker-nuts and Plantaines, but dares not deal in any considerable comodity. *The King* so soon as Intelligence is given thereof, Orders his own *Pilotts* to bring you up: for 'tis not safe to do it your selves, Altho' you are never so well acquainted. To fall directly in wth. ye *Island* is not safe but rather. 8 or 10 Leas Noery or Soby. *The Currents* set many ways amongst ye *Islands* very strong and ye wind variable. And Wly variation about 10°,—*The Pilott* yt. carries you in Can't demand above 10 Rupees for ye biggest ship that comes hither<sup>8</sup> and ye greatest caution to take care you come not among them in ye night, thereby to be flung from one to the other, by Tempest's, Storms and Eddys:—

*Wood* is very scarce upon ye *Islands*, for they abound with Little more than wth Coaker-nutt & Plantain Trees not fit for fireing. You must not Water upon ye *King's Island* Altho' there be great store of water, for 'tis unhealthy,<sup>9</sup> most of ye Wells being shoal and amongst graves of dead Carkasses of wch this *Island* is very full.<sup>10</sup> But there is good watering upon many other *Islands* and very safe fetching it: but best when fetch'd by your own people

*They* have no *Coyne* of their own, save *Lurrees* of Silver, being very Course and passe for ye value of a Shilling: 5 is 2 Rups. and sometimes 6, by reason good Silver is very scarce.<sup>11</sup>

*The Gold* that comes from *Acheen* in uncoyn'd. *Gold Ingott* is better then Coyn'd. *Silver* in *Span*: plate ye *Mexico* is best.

(Merchandize.) Strong water<sup>12</sup> in Cases. A good quantity of broad Cloth, red and green. Knives and Scithers.

*Cowries*<sup>13</sup> are to be had at any time of ye year, but in Novbr. and Dæmr. most, by reason they are brought to ye *King's Island* to Lade ye *Bengall* Shipping But if you deal wth, ye *King* or his *Noccady*<sup>14</sup> there needs no stay, save ye counting them for they have Thousds. of Tuns buried in ye ground for Store, (and for want of Ware-houses) in this Island weh. is not above 4 English miles in Circuit. Altho' ye 10th part of his Treasure is not here; yet there is sufficient in *Cowries*, *Amber-grase*<sup>15</sup> and *Sea-Coco*.<sup>16</sup> He is a timerous old man<sup>17</sup> (especially of ye *English* and *Dutchmen*) therefore hides most of his Treasure on some remote Island by *Cowries*.

And to buy ye *Cowrie*, one *Cowrie*<sup>18</sup> qt. 12,000 *Cowries*; they are worth 2 Rupees ꝑ *Cowrie*<sup>18</sup>. they bale them up in baggs made of *Coire*, or you may throw them into ye Hould loose.

They are admirers of fine silver-wyre-work'd chains weh can't be made of bad and drossy Silver.<sup>19</sup>

They speak a *Language* call'd (*Calko*)<sup>20</sup> but yr. gentry speak *Arrabick*, many speak *Moor's*<sup>21</sup> and are addicted to lying; but have not ye courage to steal, being very effeminate. We never sell except ye *Noccady* engages for them. He & many of them speak *Portugues*,<sup>22</sup> but few or none *English*.

The Port charges are Large Toll great men, being ye chief of ye Officer's; (Vzt.) The *Treasurer*,<sup>23</sup> *Noccady*, *Householder*,<sup>24</sup> and other's; To each must be given 150 Bambooes of Rice, weh. are as follows. 14 Parrass in one Cady<sup>25</sup> (or 7½ Hugly maunds) 22 Bambooes in one Parras. They weigh ye Goods by ye Maund and Colung,<sup>26</sup> being 7½ galls. to ye maund of Maldivia's qt. 122 galls.<sup>27</sup> More Port charges to each of ye eleven Officer's aforesd. 14 Covett's<sup>28</sup> of Course Callico of a Rupee price To ye *Shabander*<sup>29</sup> a Cady of Rice. To ye *Maabar*<sup>30</sup> a Cady of Rice weh. he claims for ye Shipsruddr. To ye *King's Sallareens*<sup>31</sup> (or Life Guards) a Cady of Rice. A Ship of 80, 90 or 100 Tuns pays ye half of these aforementioned charges.

### Notes

1. *The Máldive Islands*. The number of these Islands (Plate I). has been variously stated by old writers:—

Suleimán, Arabian traveller of the Ninth Century, records that “the Islands amount, so it is said, to 1,900”. Ibn Baṭūṭa (at the Máldives in A.C. 1343-4) says “about 2,000”. “The Moors report that they number 12,000” (Barbosa, A.C. 1518).

According to Pyrard (French captive at Mále, A.C. 1602-7) the Máldive Sultán claimed to rule Twelve Thousand islands and Thirteen Atols. (*Ceux du pays me disoient qu'il y en avoit jusques à douze mille. J'estime quant à moy, qu' il n'y a pas apparence d'y en avoir tant. Bien est il vray qu' il y en a une infinité de petites, qui ne sent quasi que des mottes de sable toutes inhabitées. Davantage le Roy des Maldives met ce nombre en ses titres, car il s'appelloit “ Sultan Ibrahim dolos assa ral tera atholon ”, c'est a dire “ Ibrahim Sultan Roy de treize provinces et de douze mil isles.”*)

The total number of inhabited Islands at the present day is 217.

2. *Maliva*. Sc. *Maldiva*.

3. Lat. 4° 10', N. Long. 73° 30', E.; about 415 miles S.W. of Colombo in Ceylon.

4. *Maquas*. Probably corruption of M. *Má-faná* “large coral and wood anchors” The *faná* (coral lump with stick through,) is still so used by Máldive boats in shallow water

5. *Gunderah*. Arabic, *kundara*, pl. *kanádir* (Ibn Baṭūṭa); Tamil, *kuntará*. Portuguese Historians speak of Máldivian “*gundras*”; and the term “*Gundara-kárayó*” is applied by Sinhalese in Ceylon to the Islanders and their boats (M. *dónifaharu*, *oḍifaharu*).

6. *Heveldor*. Persian *Haváldár*, “one holding an office of trust.” Probably the *Atoḷu-veri*, or Chief Headman of an Atol, is here meant.

7. *King*. M. *Rasgefánu*; but the Arabic title “Sultán” is more correctly applied to the Rulers of the Máldive Islands from the Muslim Conversion in A.H. 548 (A.C. 1153-4) onwards.

8. *Pilotage*. Foreign vessels trading to Mále now-a-days have to pay Rs. 5 to the *Míru Baharu* (*Amír-al-Bahr*), or Harbour Master, and a further Rs. 5 to the *Boḍu Badéri-ge* (Kachcheri) for Clearance Papers on leaving. All charges formerly paid to other officials

have been abolished; but, as Harbour Dues, from every Foreign vessel is recovered the sum of Rs. 40 per trip for anchorage in the Outer Harbour, which lies between Mále and the islands Fonadú, Dunidú, Fédú and the Galufalu reef. Vessels electing to shelter behind Dunidú island during the S.W. monsoon are charged Rs. 25 extra.

9. *Water at Mále.* The well-water at Mále has been more than once strongly condemned. Water, "taken from a well said to be one of the best", when analysed by Staff Surgeon P. H. M. Starr (H.M.S. "Proserpine"), in 1909, was found to be "quite unfit for human consumption, showing contamination, by sewage matter." Of late years a Rain-Water Storage Tank (*M. Fen-tági*), with wide catchment roof, has been built in two of the four Wards, and the erection of a couple more in the others is contemplated.

10. *Graveyards.* "Into 'Sultán's Island'—an area roughly one mile in length. East and West, by half a mile across,—there are crowded at this day no less than twenty-nine Mosques, to the majority of which are attached burial grounds. . . . There can scarcely be six feet of Máldive earth (with the exception of the Palace Enclosure and the sites of the more revered Mosques and *Ziyárats*) but have at one period or another held the dead laid 'beneath the Churchyard's stone.' (C.A.S. Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 77, 1924).

11. *Coinage.* Cowries were the sole Máldive currency until the issue in the Sixteenth Century of the *Digu Lári*, or "long *larin*" (of doubled silver wire stamped with the Sultán's name), copied from the Persian *larin*. These elongated coins were certainly struck (*teste* Pyrard) by Sultán Íbráhim III (A.C. 1583-1607), if not earlier; as well as by his successors S. Shujá'í Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I (A.C. 1620-1648) and S. Iskandar Íbráhim I (A.C. 1648-1687).

To this last named Sultán is assigned the credit of first issuing circular coins. Specimens of his silver *Lári* of A.H. 1075 and 1086 (A.C. 1664-5; 1675-6), 73 grains in average weight, are known. The first known *Kuḍa Lári*, dated A.H. 1105 and weighing  $36\frac{1}{2}$  grains, was issued by S. Muḥammad (A.C. 1693-1701) in the year of his accession. (Plate II.).

In A.H. 1146 (A.C. 1733-34), a *Boḍu Lári*, or double *lári*, (146 grs. average weight) was introduced, and ruled with *Lári* struck decennially (A.H. 1153, 1163, 1173) and termed "*Iskandar*" from the original issues; but apparently at the fictitious ratio values of 4 to 1 (*hulj rix-dollar* to *schelling*).

From A.H. 1184 (A.G. 1770-7.), the coinage settled down to *Boḍu Lāri* and true *Kuḍa Lāri* (weight much as before) at recognised one-fourth ratio. The weights of *Boḍu Lāri* and *Kuḍa Lāri* have varied since, falling gradually, and are now down to less than half in each case.

12. "*Strong Water*". The Māldivians being staunch Muhammadans, spirits can hardly have found a sale at Māle.

13. *Cowries*. (See *Hak Soc. Pyrrard*, II pp. 429, 452, 444. &c. &c.) Some particulars regarding the trade in Cowries between the Dutch in Ceylon and the Māldives are given under "Trade and Commerce" in "The Māldive Islands" (*Sess. Paper XLIII*, 1881 pp. 98-101).

The Dutch were quick to gauge the advantage of complete control over the traffic in Cowries. Throughout the latter part of the Seventeenth Century, and much of the Eighteenth, they attempted to establish a monopoly, whilst paying less than other nations.

The price to the Dutch in 1669 was 1  $\frac{1}{5}$  Rds. the *kotte* of 12,000, weighing 24 lbs. In 1697 it rose to 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rds., and up to 1718 fluctuated between that rate and 2 Rds. In 1723 (Sultān's Missive in Portuguese) 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kottes* of Cowries were changed with Dutch vessels for a candy (8 Bengal maunds) of rice.

In 1740 the price was fixed at 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rds., the *kotte* of 24 lbs.; but had fallen in 1764 by half a rix-dollar.

For the next twenty years the annual Netherlands' demand for Cowries diminished from 500,000 lbs. (20,000 *kottes*) to as low as 150,000 lbs. or 6,000 *kottes* (now raised to 25 lbs. the *kotte*), needed only if to fill the lower tier of vessels as ballast!

But the Māldive price had risen considerably. Whilst the Dutch Governor in 1777 refused the Sultān's request to raise the price to 2 Rds. per *kotte*, English and French vessels paid as much as Rs. 4 at Māle. Owing to other foreigners entering the market, the Dutch in 1795 had perforce to pay Rs. 3 per *kotte*.

In 1836 the price of Cowries at Māle was Rs. 2 per *kotte*; in 1880, nearly half a century later, it had come down to Rs. 1.50; but after forty years further interval, in 1920, stood at Rs. 2.50.

The present quotations are Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per cwt. at Māle; and Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per *maund* (84 lbs.) at Calcutta.

Cowries are chiefly gathered in Haddummatí, Huvadú and Ari Atols; the fewest come from Tiladummatí (extreme Northern) and Ađđú (extreme Southern) Atols.

14. *Noccady*. Persian *Ná-khudá*, the Master of a native vessel. At the present time there is but one recognised *Nákudá*, a post of some responsibility, at the Máldives.

15. *Ambergrease*. *M. goma* (raw ambergris); *mávaharu* (prepared ambergris.)

Ambergris is known to be a secretion formed in the stomach or intestines of *Physeter macrocephalus*, or spermaceti whale. It is opaque and soft, and when heated gives out a peculiarly agreeable perfume. Now used only for perfumery, it was formerly freely employed as a medicinal nostrum.

Three grades of ambergris are recognised at the Máldives—*hudu mávaharu* (white), *kaļu mávaharu* (dark), and *bimbi mávaharu* (speckled). Barbosa (16th Century) specifies these varieties under the terms *ponabar* (white), *puambar* (greyish) and *minabar* (brown).

Large lumps are occasionally washed ashore. The Máldive "*Tárikh*" Chronicle records quaintly how the Islanders bought off their French allies against Ali Rája of Kannanúr, circa A.C. 1753, with a huge mass weighing more than 3 cwt. found at Málismađulu Atol—ambergris being then valued at Rs. 10 per one rupee weight!

In somewhat recent years a similar exceptional "find" was made; regarding the ultimate disposal of which discreditable rumours still exist.

Ambergris and sea-coconut are Máldive royalties, and highly valued. At least as early as 1706 Rs. 1 to Rs. 2 weight of each of these rarities was included among the Annual Presents to the Colombo Governors and Galle Commanders; and the practice is believed to be still in force.

16. *Sea-Coconut*. *M. távakkári*, "the hard (shelled) coconut" (cf. Sin. *tavara*, "firm"). This, the double-coconut (*Lodoicea Seychellarum*), from its fruit being carried by currents from the Seychelles and cast ashore frequently on the Máldive Islands, obtained the names *Coco-der-mer* ("sea coconut") and *Cocos-des-Máldives*.

In olden days it was highly valued as an imagined sovereign remedy for all sorts of ailments. (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I., 229-231; *Hak. Soc. Barbosa*, II, 106 regarding ambergris and sea-coconut.)

17. Mr. Ferguson was right in identifying the "timorous old man" then "King" with Sultán Iskandar Íbráhím I (A.C. 1648-87). He was son of S. Shujá'i Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I and Aishá Kabáfánu, widow of that Sultán's two immediate predecessors, Sultán Íbráhím III, (killed by the Malabar Expedition of A.C. 1607), and Sultán Husain II Fámudéri Kilagefánu, who died at Guraidú (S. Mále Atol) in A.C. 1620.

In point of fact Sultán Iskandar Íbráhím I, perhaps now in his dotage, had proved himself a masterly Máldive Ruler. His long reign lasted over 39 years, covering, with that of his father, two-thirds of the Seventeenth Century. Skilled in arms and other manly exercises, this versatile Monarch, further, encouraged learning and directed the 'Ulumá to instruct the people; besides appointing salaried teachers.

Many Foreign vessels visited the Máldives during this reign. Trade thrived exceedingly; the more so as Sultán Íbráhím put a stop to the exaction of grinding dues and monopolies, formerly levied by grasping officials.

The Sultán went the *Hajj* twice, in A.H. 1078 (A.C. 1668) and again in A.H. 1093 (A.C. 1682). At Mále his religious zeal showed itself in the improvement of the *Hukuru Miskit* (*Jum'a Mosque*) in A.H. 1085 (A.D. 1674-5), and the erection of its bold cylindrical tower, the *Munnáru*, or Minaret, the most characteristic architectural feature of "Sultán's Island" at this day and represented on Máldive stamps. (Plate III).

Sultán Íbráhím is said to have been poisoned by a slave girl who bore him a son. This luckless boy succeeded as Sultán Kuḍa Muḥammad (A.C. 1687-1691), at the age of six and a half, with his mother as Queen Regent. Both met a tragic death together some four years afterwards.

18. *Cowrie*. The seventh word in the first and second lines, is a misprint in the original MS. for *Cotte* (M. *kotte*).

Cowries are still put up in packages of woven coconut leaves, triangular in shape, tightly stitched with coir at the base or mouth. Each *kotte* contains 12,000 (M. *bára já*) cowries, and averages 25 lbs. in weight.

19 The handsome gold and silver jewellery of the Máldives is of choice workmanship, and distinctive in design.

20. *Calco*. Manifestly an error. At the Máldives the language of the Islanders is regularly termed "*Dirchi bas*"; though at Minicoy (Máldivian in race and speech, but for

centuries held by the Rájas and Bíbis of Kannanúr, and now grouped by the Indian Government with the Lakkadives) a form of Máldivian is used called "*Máhl*".

21. *Moor's*. Hindustáni; "the Industan language commonly called Moors". The term became obsolete during the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

22. *Portuguese*. This language was greatly in vogue at the Máldives as late as the Eighteenth Century. Three Portuguese Missives of Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar II to the Dutch Governors of Ceylon, dated respectively A.C. 1723, 1734, 1735, are extant.

23. *Treasurer*. *M. Bodu Baḍéri*. See *Sess. Pap.* XV, 1921 p. 25.

24. *Householder*. Very probably *Má Baḍéri*, the Officer in control of Palace affairs. (*Loc. cit.*)

25. *Cady*. "One *Candiel* is little more or less than 14 bushels" (Linchoten). "*Parra*" = bushel; "*bamboo*" = seer (Máldive *náli*.) The Máldive *fara* = 12 *náli*.

Taking one seer as weighing 2 lbs., 22 "*bamboos*"  $\times$  14 "*parras*" would total 308 seers, or 616 lbs., for the "*candy*" of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  "*maunds*", at 82  $\frac{2}{15}$  lbs., per maund of 41  $\frac{1}{15}$  seers.

At the Máldives the ruling Dry Measures are:—

*Láhi*

4	=	<i>Náli</i>			
16	=	4	=	<i>Kotu</i> .	
48	=	12	=	3	= <i>Fara</i> .
192	=	48	=	12	= 4 = <i>Muli</i> .
1200	=	300	=	75	= 25 = $6\frac{1}{4}$ = <i>Kaḍi</i> .

Of recent years 50 *náli* have been reckoned broadly, as = 1 *muli*; and 300 *náli*, or 6 *muli*, = 1 *kaḍi*.

26. *Colung*. Perhaps the Máldive *kuladu* (Sip. *kalaṇḍa*) is meant; but this weight = *bai tola*, half *tola* is used only by Jewellers. The Máldive *manu* (maund) = 84 lbs.

27. Some uncertain writing here. "Maund" dry measure; "gallon" usually liquid measure. The Máldive *adubá* (liquid measure) = 2 quarts, or half a gallon.

28. *Covett*. The more familiar corruption of the Portuguese *corado*, cubit, is *covid*. The term has gone out of use.

29. *Shabander*. This title of *Sháh Bandar* has long lapsed at the Máldives. His duties (cognizance of all matters

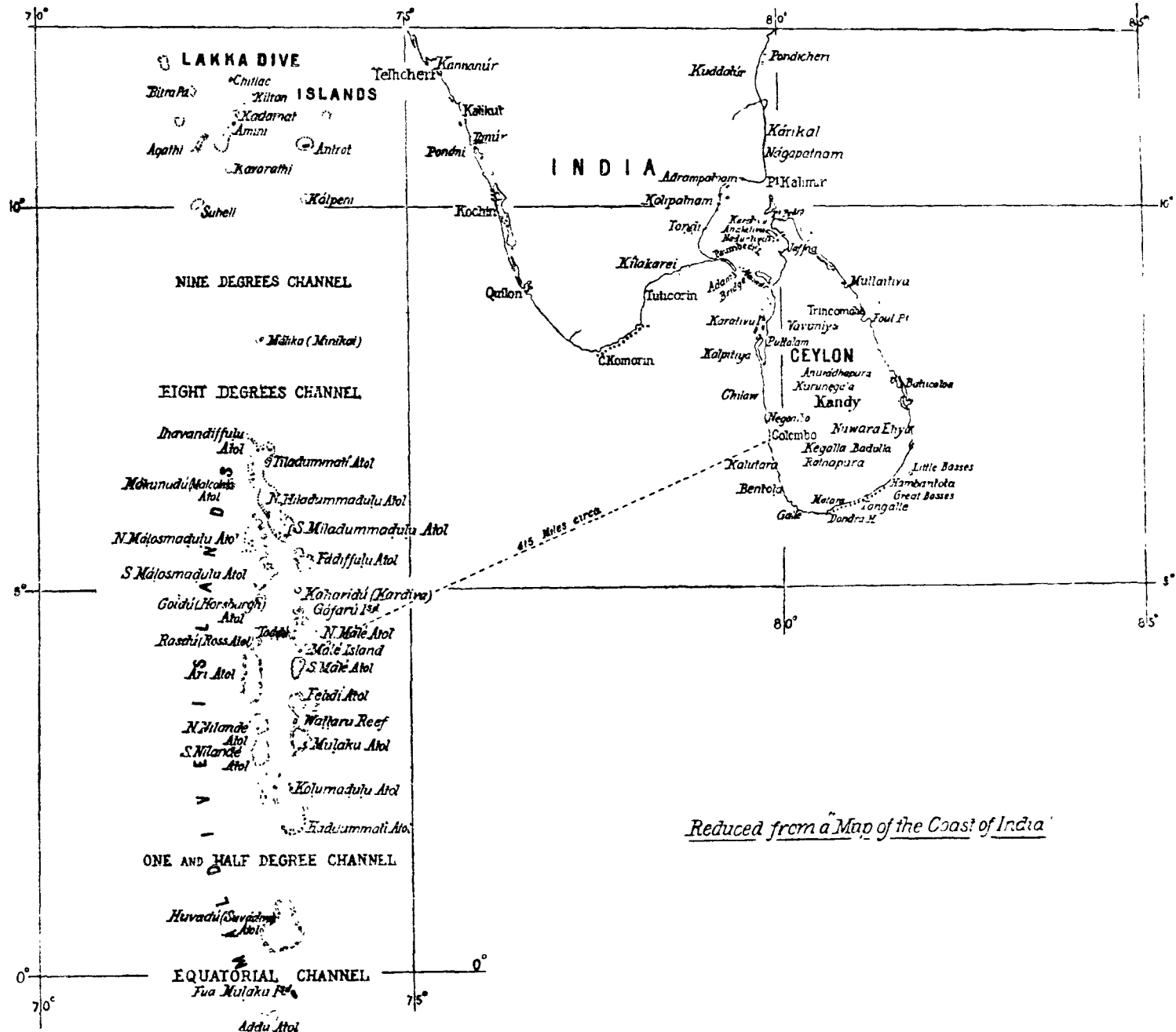


concerning Foreigners and Foreign Trade), devolved at times on the *Velána Vazir*, or the *Bođu Buđerige*.

30. *Maabar*. M. *Míru Baharu* (Arabic) *Amír-al-Bahr*. The custom of removing the rudder of native vessels until their departure is still practiced.

31. *Sallareens*. Sc. *Lascarins*. The Máldive term for the Militia at Mále is *Hagu-bé-kalun*. They receive certain allowances in rice, &c., from the Government.

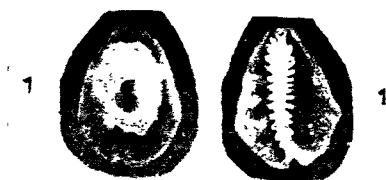
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*Reduced from a Map of the Coast of India*



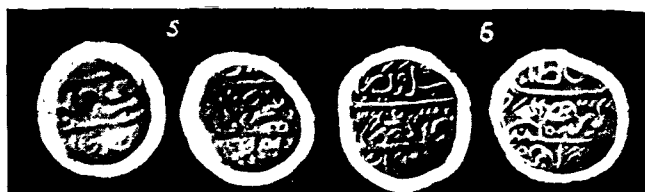
Maldivé Currency (Seventeenth Century).



1 COWRIES.



2, 3, 4. DIGU LÁRI.



5, 6 LÁRI

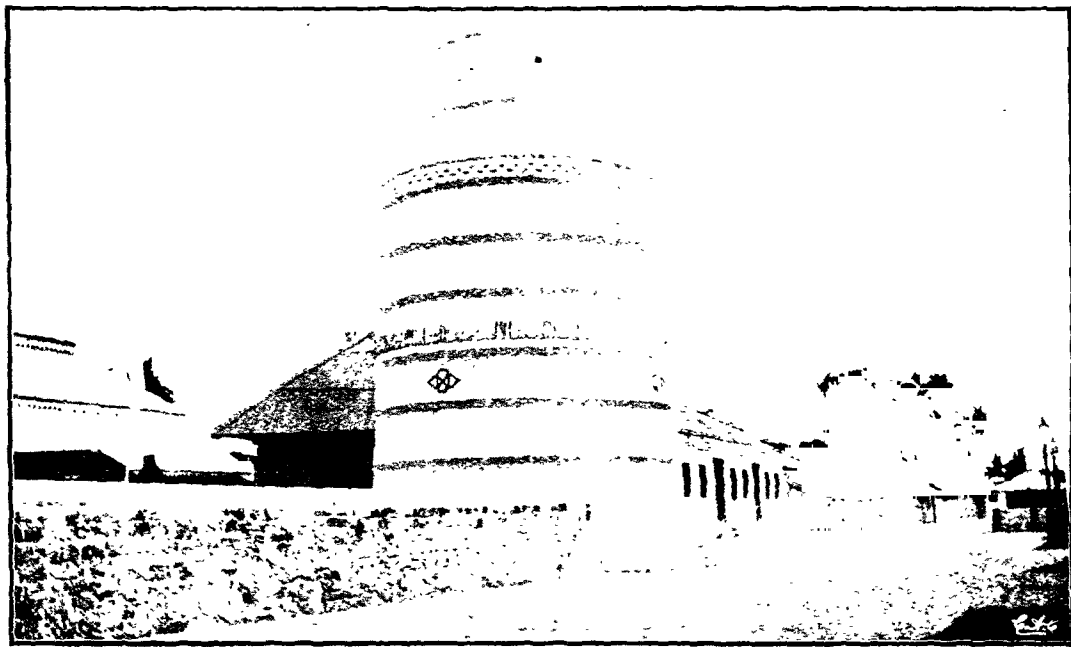


7. KUḌA LÁRI.



Munnaru, or Minaret, at Hukuru Miskit: Male.

PLATE III.



View from South-West.



## NOTES AND QUERIES

### SOME PORTUGUESE PLANS.

By P. E. PIERIS

I wish to draw the attention of Members to the photographic reproductions of a series of Portuguese Plans of Ceylon, which have been secured for the Museum. The originals form a Manuscript set sold by Messrs. Maggs Bros. of London to the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., and are now numbered 293660/22; the photographs have been secured through the great courtesy of the Librarian. The volume contains 2 leaves, 33 plans and one folded map.

The title of the work, "Plantas das Fortalezas, Pagodes, & ca da Ilha de Ceilaõ," with the date 1650, is written on the first leaf. On the second leaf is the Portuguese coat of arms.

The folded map, "Planta da Ilha de Ceilaõ," measures  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$  inches. On it the island is almost divided in half by a river rising in the southwest and emptying into the ocean 'at "Triqvillimale" in the north-east; this is the Mahaweliganga. The central portion of the island is marked, "Reino Decandea," and the southern, "Riino de Hvva." The following names occur on the map: Iaphanapatam, Ponta das Pedras, Sete Corlas, Manar, Cadiya, Caimel, Negvmba, Colvmba, Qvatro Corlas, Balane, Candea, Pico Dadaõ, Araial, Seita Vaca, Malvana, Panatvre, Calatvre, Alicam, Gale, Sofragao, Beligaõ. Matvre. Dvas Corlas, Valave, Magama, Cvvicane, Iala, Espesvra dos Bedas, Bate Calov, Triqvillimale, Rio da +



The following are the titles of the Plans:—

- No. 1.—Colombo,
- No. 2.—Necombo,
- No. 3.—Planta da fortaleza de Necombo,
- No. 4.—Chilao,
- No. 5.—Pvtalam,
- No. 6.—Iaphanapatam,
- No. 7.—Forma da fortificação de Iaphanapatam,
- No. 8.—Ponta das Pedras,
- No. 9.—Rio da Crvs,
- No. 10.—Planta da fortaleza de Triqvillimale,
- No. 11.—Triqvillimale,
- No. 12.—Forma do pagode de Triqvillimale,
- No. 13.—Batecalov,
- No. 14.—Paneva,
- No. 15.—Rio Decvvicanve,
- No. 16.—Rio Daialla.
- No. 17.—Rio de Magamma,
- No. 18.—Marinha do sal,
- No. 19.—Rio Devallave,
- No. 20.—Galheta,
- No. 21.—Forma do pagode de Tanavare,
- No. 22.—Tanavare,
- No. 23.—Beligaõ,
- No. 24.—Planta da fortaleza de Galle,
- No. 25.—Matvre,
- No. 26.—Planta da fortaleza de Panatvre,
- No. 27.—Galle,
- No. 28.—Alicaõ,
- No. 29.—Calatvre,
- No. 30.—Malvana,
- No. 31.—Panatvre,
- No. 32.—Manicavare,
- No. 33.—Planta do forte de Sofragam,

Some of the Plans, such as those of Colombo and Menikkadawara, are of exceptional beauty and interest. The plans of the Forts are a useful corrective to our somewhat exaggerated ideas of the importance of the Military operations of the Portuguese in the country. But what will be appreciated by everyone here, are the two illustrations of the Dewale at Devundara and the Kovil at Tirukona malai, which were destroyed by these Vandals.

Our knowledge of Portuguese times is rapidly growing more precise. The Portuguese Forals are now available, as well as a large portion of the Tombos. I hope to complete translation of the letterpress of the Resende *Mss* on my next visit to Europe.

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**JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804.**

BY D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., in his paper<sup>1</sup> on Johnston's famous march to Kandy in 1804, says that he has not been able to gather full materials for a biography of Johnston—chiefly information as to the exact date of Johnston's return to England.

It may therefore not be uninteresting to note here a few particulars on the subject, which may in some measure supplement the most interesting contribution of Mr. Lewis on one, who, in the words of Bennett,<sup>2</sup> is "second to none in the annals of Ceylon for the bravery and cool determination of a British Officer." and "the fortitude of a soldier in any part of the world."

Lieut.-Col. (then Major) Johnston's "Narrative," which Sir Emerson Tennent describes as the most thrilling military narrative on record,<sup>3</sup> was published in London in 1810, and it contains a map of the part of the Island showing the route taken by him. A reprint of the book, which Mr. Lewis believes was produced by some of Johnston's friends or relations, appeared in Dublin in 1854, in which the map is wanting, but there is prefixed a Memoir which is neither full nor complete.

Lieut.Col. Arthur Johnston, it would seem, entered the Army on 9th May, 1794 as Ensign in the 87th Foot. On the 17th of the same month he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the 102nd Foot. On 3rd September, 1795 he was transferred to the 19th Foot,

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1.—Paper entitled "Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804," read at the General Meeting of the Society, on Wednesday, October 7, 1925.

2.—Ceylon and its Capabilities—p 419.

3 —Ceylon Vol. II. p. 85.

and with this regiment he came out to Ceylon in 1796<sup>4</sup> In 1809 Johnston applied for and obtained a Majority in his Regiment. The following is an extract from his Memorial:—

“That your Memorialist has served in the Army nearly 16 years, 13 of which have been mostly passed in active service in the East Indies and particularly in the Kandian War.

That so far back as 1804 your Memorialist had the honour of commanding one of the 6 Divisions ordered to march on Kandy, a command adopted to the rank of Field Officer, the other 5 Divisions being led by Officers of that rank. That in the execution of this service your Memorialist penetrated unsupported to the Capital in Kandy, kept possession of it for 3 days, and forced his way back to Trincomalee, a distance of 142 miles, through a country full of mountains and defiles and opposed by the natives at every pass.”

On 11th May 1811, he left the Island, having obtained an exchange into the 3rd Corsican Rangers. On 25th July 1816 he retired on half-pay, having been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. After his retirement he was employed as a Professor in the Royal Military College for some time. He resigned this post soon after and settled at Shalden where he died on June 6th, 1824 of some disorder in the throat.<sup>5</sup>

Apropos of the subject it may be mentioned that Mr. Lewis' paper discloses the fact that Lieut.-Col. Johnston married Martha Smith, daughter of Thomas Smith of Shalden after his retirement from the army.

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4.—There is, however, a reference to Johnston's arrival in ‘Ceylon in Early British Times,’ by the late Mr J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., C.M.G., according to which Johnston arrived in Ceylon in 1801 (2nd Edition p. 39.). We believe this is an error, as Johnston commanded in 1800 a corps of pioneers which opened a road for General Macdowal's Embassy to Kandy. (Johnston's Narrative, p. v.)

5.—For full particulars—see Ceylon Literary Register (weekly) Vol. III. pp. 267—269.

The suggestion seems therefore irresistible that this in his second marriage, as the sequel will show.

There is a striking anecdote that has not received the publicity it deserves. It is one connected with the family of Hon'ble Henry Matthews in Ceylon. And our authority recounts it in this fashion. During his official career Justice Henry Matthews<sup>6</sup> had occasion to visit Galle frequently and during these visits he was entertained by Mrs. Gibson<sup>7</sup> of Buona Vista fame. Here Justice Matthews became acquainted with *the only daughter* of Lieut.—Col. Johnston. Miss Susan Johnston.<sup>8</sup> Justice Matthews offered her a place in his house at Mutwal to teach his children on a liberal allowance. She accepted the offer and for about two years was in the family. During his last days<sup>9</sup> Miss Johnston was his constant attendant and nurse, Mrs. Matthews being too much distressed and overwhelmed with grief to be of any assistance. Soon after her husband's death, Mrs. Matthews left Ceylon with her children. She offered Miss Johnston a passage to England, but she refused it. A month or two after this she married at the Wesleyan Chapel, Colombo, Mr. A. W. Jansz,<sup>10</sup> the father of late Mr. W. Jansz, Head

6 —Brilliant humourist, and author of "The Diary of an Invalid." He was appointed Advocate Fiscal, Ceylon, (Attorney-General), in 1821, and in 1827 Puisne Justice. His son Henry (born in Colombo in 1826) rose to be M.P. for Birmingham East and Secretary for the Home Department from 1886-1892, and in 1895 was raised to the Peerage as Lord Llandaff—"Ferguson's Early British Rule in Ceylon."

7.—This is, we believe, the wife of William Carmichael Gibson, who was Master Attendant of Galle from 1796-1803, and at Colombo till 1816, but resigned "to follow mercantile pursuits."—Lewis' Tombstones p. 184.

8 —Born in the year 1808 (probably). Died at Galle at the age of 89 on May 16, 1897; buried at Galle in the Dutch Presbyterian Cemetery in the family vault of the late P. Bulkhuysen. The death entry shows her nationality as "Burgher". Her Mother was probably a Burgher lady, whose name we have not yet been able to trace.

9.—He died on May 20, 1828. He is buried in St Peter's Church, Fort, Colombo. For a sketch of his life, see Lewis' Tombstones and Monuments pp 13 and 14.

10.—Died in 1873. His marriage register could not be traced, as the records for 1828 are not available for search.

Clerk of the Batticaloa Kachcheri,<sup>11</sup> and grand-father of Mr. Charles Alexander Jansz, retired Inspector of Telegraphs, Selangor, and presently of Bambalapitiya, Colombo.<sup>12</sup> Papers in Mr. C. A. Jansz's possession show that Susan Johnston had been in communication with her benefactor's son, Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, when she was a widow. We shall here extract a passage from a Memorial addressed by her to His Excellency Sir Arthur H. Gordon, K.C.M.G., on March 15th, 1890. She says:—

“Your Excellency's Memorialist is the only daughter of the late Col. Johnston by whose marvellous bravery Kandy was captured for the British in 1804. The glorious possession of the honours he had so splendidly won was duly applauded by the Commander of the Forces as will appear from the two following extracts from letters furnished to your Memorialist by the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, Home Secretary, dated respectively, 8.9.1804 and 22.2.1805:—

(a) The Commander of the Forces directs me to say he has received the report of the attack you made on the Kandians under the Dissave of Uva and highly applauds the gallantry and judgment of it. The success arose entirely from your activity and conduct which was exactly what the Commander of the Forces expected at your hands.

(b) I am directed by the Commander of the Forces to acknowledge your letter stating your attack on the enemy who received it with warmest terms of approbation.”

Our endeavours to secure a photograph of this lady

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11.—Born on I.V. 1829.

12.—For a fuller account see Ceylon Literary Register (weekly) Vol. III, pp 79—80. We are credibly informed that Mr. C. A. Jansz's services were requisitioned by Government in the year 1892 when the present Governor Sir Hugh Clifford took a leading part in the suppression of the Pahang Rebellion.

who linked with the past of Ceylon proved unsuccessful, though we have come across a photograph taken on her funeral day. As this photograph is much faded and her facial lineaments are not quite visible, we have refrained from reproducing it here.

In regard to Lieut.-Col. Johnston's portrait which Mr. Lewis has been able to secure it may be pointed out that a similar portrait appears in the Monograph of the Batticaloa District. Mr. S. O. Canagaratnam, the author of this work, in an article contributed by him to the "Ceylon Morning Leader" of October 16th, 1925, mentions that it was supplied to him by Mrs. Benson, a near relative of Johnston, who was at one time a guest of Sir W. H. Manning, the late Governor of Ceylon.

Mr. Lewis' paper has so greatly stimulated an interest in Johnston's expedition that it seems essential before concluding this note to bring to notice a remark made by the author of that famous work—"Eleven Years in Ceylon." Major Forbes, writing on the expedition in 1804 says that Captain Johnston "entered the Kandian country, traversed its most difficult defiles, crossed its largest river, *took its Capital*"<sup>13</sup> and "then fought his way down the Etgalla pass through the forests of Matale, and finally, after encountering and overcoming every species of hardship, conducted *his victorious party* to Trincomalie."<sup>14</sup> (the italics are ours).

Be that as it may, after a perusal of the information available at our disposal, we are inclined to believe that Major Forbes was not correct in thinking that the Capital was taken by Johnston and his party. It seems to be the more reasonable to believe that Johnston crossed the Mahaveliganga and *entered Kandy*. Indeed that Johnston's "Narrative" warrants such a view there can be no doubt. These are his own

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13.—Eleven Years in Ceylon, Vol. I. p.39.

14.—Ibid Vol. II. p.118.

words—"Our troops once more took possession of the Capital, which they found as usual, entirely deserted by its inhabitants."<sup>15</sup> That that portion of the town in proximity to the Palace had been evacuated as was usual on the approach of war, is certain, for Johnston entered the Palace as its situation was most favourable "for resisting any immediate attack," and "looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the other detachment."<sup>16</sup> Then we know that, according to the "most secret" communication of September 3, 1804, addressed to Captain Johnston, he had been directed that his detachment should proceed to Kandy and that six other detachments from Colombo, Hambantota, Trincomalie, Negombo, Chilaw, and Puttalam should meet it and proceed to Kandy for the purpose of "the destruction of the enemy's Capital."<sup>17</sup> It is therefore most improbable that a cautious soldier like Johnston would have precipitated an action, which was, according to instructions received, to take place by the conjoint forces. Parenthetically it may be stated that during his stay in Kandy, Johnston did not "concert such measures as would best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country,"<sup>18</sup> for, as Mr. Lewis puts it, "he scrupulously avoided destroying or damaging any of the enemy's houses or property, and the town was left in peace and quietness." Johnston says that he abstained from destroying or even injuring the town in order that the other troops coming up might not be deprived of shelter.

It is also noteworthy that Forbes' remarks referred to do not compare favourably with what several other writers have to say on the matter.

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15.—Narrative, 2nd Edition p. 61.

16.—Ibid p. 61.

17.—Ibid p. 39.

18.—Ibid p. 43.



Bombardier Alexander,<sup>19</sup> who had the oral testimony of soldiers who belonged to Captain Johnston's detachment, says that "Captain Johnston and his army *reached* the Capital in safety without opposition, and found it deserted."<sup>20</sup>

Dr. J. Davy in his account of Ceylon remarks that Johnston penetrated into the interior and without any of the support and co-operation which it had a right to expect, marched through the heart of the country from Batticaloa to Kandy, which it *entered*, and from Kandy to Trincomalie.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. H. Marshall in his impartial account observes that after much hard fighting and surmounting innumerable obstacles in the woods and mountains of Uva Johnston *reached* Kandy.<sup>22</sup>

C. Pridham seems to have held the same view when he says that Captain Johnston "crossed the Mahaveli-ganga unopposed and marched direct upon the Capital which he found deserted by the inhabitants."<sup>23</sup> Not wholly deserted, though Bombardier Alexander points out that when the soldiers entered Kandy they saw only "a little boy weeping, a woman and a white rat." Johnston's "Narrative" does not justify the belief that the Capital was wholly abandoned at this time for he significantly remarks that the Kandians "were in great force in the neighbourhood and delayed their attack only until the climate should begin to take effect upon the soldiers."<sup>24</sup> Bombardier Alexander also adds that the enemy were collecting in great numbers upon the

19.—Bombardier Alexander arrived in the Island when Hon. F. North was Governor and Major-General Macdowal, Commander of the Forces. He left Ceylon on 15.3.1811 on board "Thomas Granville" which conveyed Governor Right Hon'ble Thomas Maitland.

20.—Life of Alexander written by himself and edited by John Howell—1830—Vol. I., p. 149.

21.—Ceylon p. 316.

22.—Conquest of Ceylon, p. 123.

23.—Ceylon Vol I. p. 175.

24.—Narrative 2nd Edition p. 82.

adjacent hill," so much so that "the enemy could be seen thickening on every side. "The little army was completely surrounded by overwhelming numbers." Johnston being therefore unable to account for the delay of the other divisions which ought to have come up before this time started a precipitate retreat from Kandy "in silence, keeping close together and waiting for each other," and the party "at length reached Trincomalie, cold, dirty, and lousy; almost naked, many barefoot and maimed; officers and all were alike starved and shrivelled, their countenances haggard, forming an assemblage of the most miserable looking men it is possible to conceive."<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Marshall, speaking on this retreat of the English forces, says that it was nearly as fatal to the Europeans of the detachment as the massacre of 1803 had been for almost all died in the Hospital, few, very few survived.<sup>26</sup>

It was perhaps in recollection of these events that Sri Wickrama Rajasinha exultingly remarked within the hearing of Dr. Marshall—"Twice during my reign have you obtained the possession of the town of Kandy and twice have you been very glad to get out of it."<sup>27</sup>

In conclusion we may quote here the official account of the inroads into the Kandian territories in 1804, as this account is not familiar to many in its entirety.

"When I was writing my last General Letter," says Governor Frederic North. "various detachments were in the field, but a general union of them at the Candian Capital was thought by Major-General Wemyss not capable of being carried into execution without greater preparation. That plan therefore which had once been adopted, was renounced, and the different detachments entered the country on different sides and directed their attack to different objects.

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25.—Howell's *Life of Bombardier Alexander* Vol. I. p. 104.

26.—*Conquest of Ceylon* p. 127.

27.—*Marshall's Conquest of Ceylon* p. 171

“Major Beaver with a force consisting of 90 Europeans and 250 natives left Colombo on the 20th September and directing his march to the South-East traversed the Saffregam Corle, having forced innumerable batteries and dispersed all the obstacles which the face of the country and the exertion of the Adigar opposed to him, and having burned the residence of that minister, nearly taken his person, and laid waste the country from which he draws his principal resources entered the District of Matara on the 5th October, with the loss of only 1 native wounded and what is still more remarkable without the desertion of one single cooly.

“Captain Blackall with a detachment from Negombo composed of 90 Europeans and 110 natives and supported by two smaller ones from Puttalam and Chilaw, commanded by the respective Commandants of those places, Lieutenants Purdon and White, laid waste the whole province of the Seven Corles to within a day's march of Candy, and proved the advantage of our small body of cavalry in the terror which they inspired, and in the capture of a great quantity of cattle, which they brought down to the great benefit of our settlements, and the irreparable loss of the enemy.

“Captain Honner overran the Soorely District, with equal success from Trincomalie.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Maddison attempted to penetrate into the Saffregam Corle by Kattergam, but the drought of the country obliging him to enter it more to the South-ward, he soon after joined Major Beaver's Detachment and returned with it to Matara.

“But the most remarkable march was that of Captain Arthur Johnston from Batticaloa. That officer, not having clearly understood the letter by which the Major-General countermanded the junction at Candy marched to that Capital by a new and untried road of 180 miles in length at the head of a Detachment consisting of 60 Europeans and 220 natives and reached the

Capital without any loss. He would have forced his way down again with equal success, had he not waited three days at Candy, in hopes of being joined by the other Detachments of our troops. The enemy in the meantime assembled in great force at the passage of the river on the road to Trincomale, which, however, Captain Johnston forced, with the loss of a considerable number of men, and two officers of the 19th Regiment—Lieutenants Vincent and Smith who were severely wounded and obliged to be carried forward in doolies. Having passed the river he continued his route and would have made it good into our territories, with very little additional loss, notwithstanding the scarcity of ammunition, had not his coolies been terrified, and the Bengal Sepoys thrown into some confusion. These circumstances prevented his retreat from being so successful and so glorious as it otherwise would have been, and I am sorry to add that the two wounded officers were left behind by the fault of a Sergeant of the 19th who has since been sentenced by a Court Martial to be transported for life to Botany Bay. On account of his conduct, Captain Johnston arrived in our territories at Candelay Lake on the 16th October having lost 9 Europeans, 60 natives and 76 coolies killed and wounded.

“The brilliant and adventurous spirit which our troops displayed in this extraordinary march has, notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances which accompanied it, had the greatest effect upon the Candians, as it has proved, what I have always indeed maintained, that any compact body of soldiers well equipped might pass through any part of the Candian territories and that several such bodies acting in concert, during the healthy season, would soon drive the people and its Government to desperation.”<sup>28</sup>.

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28.—Governor North's General Letter of 8. 2 1805 addressed to Earl Camden, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

**A NOTE TO Mr. F. LEWIS' PAPER ON  
"JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION TO KANDY IN 1804"**

By F. A. TISSEVERASINGHE.

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I would wish to add a few particulars to the account of the above expedition furnished by Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., in his excellent paper read by him at a General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on the 7th October last.

A sketch of the life of Lieut.-Col. Johnston appears in Volume iii of the Ceylon Literary Register. It is said to have been compiled by one Mr. E. Reyhardt.

From the Memoir prefixed to the 1854 edition of Johnston's book and the Inscription on his Monument, the year of Johnston's birth would be 1778, or to be precise, 7th July, 1778, whereas Reyhardt gives it as 1779.

He entered the army on 9th May 1784 as Ensign in the 87th Foot. His promotion seems to have been rapid for on the 17th of the same month he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant in the 102nd Foot. On the 3rd September 1795 he was transferred to the 19th Foot, and with this regiment he came to Ceylon in 1796.

There seems to be some difference of opinion, says the writer, regarding the letter countermanding the order of 3rd September 1804 from Trincomalie. One writer (Forbes) says that "by some strange accident the letter countermanding the order was omitted." Another, the Editor (Donald Ferguson) of the Literary Register seems to think that it did not reach him, while others are of opinion that the letter did reach him but was misinterpreted by him. "The first statement" Reyhardt

says, "appears to be the correct one." "It was afterwards attempted," proceeds Reyhardt "to prove that the letter in question was the one countermanding the original order." Reyhardt says that "there is not a single sentence which can be understood to revoke the previous order." Johnston himself expressed his surprise at the construction attempted to have been placed on the letter. And Mr. Lewis is equally vigorous in asserting that, "no analysis is necessary to show that the orders given to Johnston could in any way bear any other construction than that placed on them by Johnston himself."

The letter countermanding the original order is, according to Johnston, dated 14th September, 1804. In another part of his narrative quoted by Mr. Lewis, Johnston refers to the order of the 8th (September 1804). To this Mr. Lewis appends a foot-note "it is not clear to what order this refers." It is curious to note that the second letter in Reyhardt's account in the *Literary Register* is dated "Jaffnapatam, 8th September 1804." Apparently 14th September is an error either of Johnston or of the printer, for 8th September 1804.

Reyhardt quotes extracts of two letters from copies of War Office despatches sent by the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews to Mr. W. Jansz, of whom later.

From the Major of Brigade to Capt. Johnston  
(undated)

Sir,

The Commander of the Forces directs me to say he has received the report of the attack you made on the Kandians under the Dissawa of Uva and highly applauds the gallantry and judgment of it. The success arose entirely from your activity and conduct which was exactly what the Commander of the Forces expected at your hands.

From the Dep. Adj.-General, Colombo, 22nd  
February, 1805 to Capt. Johnston.

I am directed by the Commander of the Forces to acknowledge your letter stating your attack on the enemy who (*sic*) received it with the warmest approbation."

Reyhardt adds "that this expedition forms one of the most brilliant episodes of English warfare in the East."

In 1809 Capt. Johnston applied for and obtained a majority in his Regiment. In his Memorial to the War Office on that occasion Johnston refers to this expedition as follows:—

"That so far back as 1804 Your Memorialist had the honour of commanding one of the 6 divisions ordered to march on Kandy, a command adapted to the rank of Field Officer, the other 5 divisions being led by officers of that rank.

That in the execution of this Service Your Memorialist penetrated unsupported to the Capital of Kandy kept possession of it for three days and forced his way back to Trincomalie, a distance of 142 miles through a country full of mountains and opposed by the natives at every point."

This passage incidentally disposes of the doubt raised by a member at the Meeting on the strength of an observation by Marshall that Johnston did not enter Kandy. Johnston penetrated to Kandy and kept possession of it for 3 days.

"The exact date of Johnston's return" says Mr. Lewis, "I am unable to trace, but I find that he later held the appointment of Assistant Commandant at the Royal Military College at Farnham."

Reyhardt gives us the exact date. "On May 11th, 1811, he left the Island having obtained an exchange into the 3rd Corsican Rangers. In confirmation of this

fact, we find in the Inscription on his monument the following: "late of His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Corsican Rangers."

On July 25th, 1811, he retired on half pay having been appointed Lieut.-Col. by brevet.

After his retirement he was employed as a Professor in the Royal Military College for some time. He resigned the post soon after and settled at Shalden, a village in Hampshire where he died on the 6th June 1824 of some disorder in the throat.

Extracts from the register of deaths in the Parish of Shalden, 1824:—

Name	Abode.	When
Lt. Col. Arthur Johnston.	Shalden	June 4.

How a grateful country treats its heroes is seen from the following "His pension appears to have been insufficient to meet his expenses as an application was made by him to sell his Commission, but this was refused on the ground that it was contrary to regulations."

Further information "which is as startling and interesting as it was unexpected" in the words of the Editor (Donald Ferguson) of the Ceylon Literary Register, is furnished by a Galle Correspondent to the same volume of the Register which contains the sketch of the Life of Johnston already referred to.

In the course of some interesting reminiscences of the Right Hon'ble Henry Matthews, Home Secretary, son of Justice Matthews of Ceylon, the Correspondent says:

"All visitors to Galle had to avail themselves of Mrs. Gibson's hospitality." It may be mentioned by



the way on the authority of Mohotty Modeliar F. E. Gooneratne that Mrs. Gibson was the wife of a Civil Servant and her bungalow is the present "Buona Vista Orphanage." She was, according to another account the widow of William Carmichael Gibson to whom she was married at Madras in October 1794 and died at Galle in August 1858 aged 85 (J. P. Lewis' Inscriptions on Tombstones).

"Here" proceeds the Correspondent, "Justice Matthews became acquainted with Miss Susan Johnston the only daughter of Captain (afterwards) Major Johnston who conducted the ill-fated expedition to Kandy from Batticaloa in 1804 and who was second in command of the later expedition that started from Galle under Colonel Murray to co-operate with the seven divisions that started simultaneously from Colombo, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, and Negombo for the capture of Kandy."

"Struck with her beauty and intelligence" the Correspondent proceeds, "Justice Matthews offered her a place in his house to teach his children on a liberal allowance. She accepted the offer and for about two years was in the family teaching the future Home Secretary of England and his sisters the rudiments of their language" "Impossible" interposes the Editor "as the Home Secretary was only born in 1826, the sisters were no doubt older"). About the end of 1830 Justice Matthews died of consumption (the Editor believes of dyspepsia in 1828), according to the late Mr. J. P. Lewis on 24th May 1828. During his last days Miss Johnston was his constant attendant and nurse, Mrs. Matthews being too much distressed and overwhelmed with grief to be of any assistance. He died one night at 8 o'clock, Miss Johnston and Mr. Vanderstraaten, his Private Secretary ministering to his wants. The book from which she read the prayers to her dying benefactor

is still in the possession of her family being carefully preserved as memento of her connection with that distinguished family.

Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Matthews left Ceylon with her children. She offered Miss Johnston a passage to England, but she was obliged to refuse, having a much more important engagement to fulfil. A month or two after this she married Mr. A. W. Jansz at the Wesleyan Chapel, Colombo. She is still (1889) living and in the pride of Great-Grand Motherhood. Her eldest son is our much respected townsman Mr. William Jansz the well-known Head Clerk of the Batticaloa Kachcheri. Many of her sons and grand-sons are in Government employ holding important places, while others are employed beyond the seas."

The Editor expressed the hope that a photograph might be taken of the Lady who links so curiously the warlike past with the pacific present of Ceylon.

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## THE PORTUGUESE CHAPEL IN THE KALPITIYA FORT.

BY REV. S. G. PERERA S. J.

In the old Dutch fort of Kalpitiya there is a small Portuguese chapel which has weathered three hundred years and more. For many years past it did duty as a salt store, but now the inevitable has happened. The chapel has been found unsafe, and the Public Works Department is engaged in dismantling it as well as the other buildings in the fort. On hearing of the impending fate of the old chapel, the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington did me the kindness to send me word of it. And as it was a Jesuit Chapel, built and served by members of the Society of Jesus, I hastened to secure some photographs of the relic.

This chapel, dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, was built in the beginning of the seventeenth century. When the Jesuits were invited to open a College in Colombo for the education of the young, the Kalpitiya peninsula, which the Portuguese called 'the island of Calpety' and sometimes 'the island of Cardiva', was gifted in emphyteusis copyhold to the Society for the maintenance of the College. The peninsula was then 'uninhabited and jungle for the most part,'<sup>1</sup> though to judge from the number of gold and copper coins and buried treasure found in its neighbourhood<sup>2</sup> the town of Kalpitiya seems to have been a busy port in ancient times.

The Jesuits soon set to work to cultivate the lands. Father Gaspar de Abreu was sent there in 1606, and in the course of a few years, he not only converted the sparse

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1.—Queyroz Conquista, 871.

2.—Journal, C.B. R.A.S., VII. 57.

population, but even brought a colony from the Fishery Coast to cultivate the lands. At first he erected three chapels in the peninsula, but soon the number of chapels increased to five and finally to seven, the chief ones being those of Kalpitiya and Etalai, at each of which was a resident Jesuit. The town which the Dutch called Calpentyn was in those days called Arasadi by the inhabitants,<sup>4</sup> after a large *arasu* tree. (*ficus religiosa*.) which stood there. These Residences of Kalpitiya are thus described in a Jesuit Report of 1644:—

#### Ilha de Calpety

Vendo de Chilao p<sup>a</sup> a p<sup>te</sup> do Norte corriendo a praya está a Ilha de Calpety, na qual estão duas Resd<sup>as</sup>, e dous Pes<sup>q</sup> corre cō ellas. A Primr<sup>a</sup>, Arezari. Orago Assumpsã de N.Sora, tẽ xpaõs 400, destes virão a doutr<sup>a</sup> cada dia mininos 40, na schola 17. Tem esta Resid<sup>a</sup> annexa a sy a Igreja de Tatãya. Orago S. Pedro São Paulo, tẽ xpaõs 450, destes virão a doutrina cada dia 60. Residencia de Etaly em Calpety. De Tatãya duas legoas p<sup>a</sup> a p<sup>te</sup> do Sul está a Residencia de Etaly, Orago São Fr<sup>co</sup> Xavier, tẽ xpaõs 200, destes virão a doutr<sup>a</sup> cada dia mininos 30. Tem esta Resid<sup>a</sup> annexas a sy as Igrejas seq<sup>tes</sup>: [ 1<sup>a</sup> ] Nalequilim, orago S. Crus, tẽ xpaõs 33, destes virão a doutr<sup>a</sup> mininos 5.: a 2a Navelcaru, orago Assumpção de N.Sôr<sup>a</sup>, tẽ xpaõs 100, destes virão cada dia a doutr<sup>a</sup> mininos 20: a 3a Maripo quarto legoas de Navelcaru, orago S. Crus, tẽ xpaõs 50, destes virão a doutr<sup>a</sup> cada dia mininos 6. Tem mais perto de Etaly em varias pouoacões algus xpaõs em Telle, xpaõs 30, em Palicure xpaõs 40, em Cureçure xpaõs 18, destes vẽ a doutr<sup>a</sup> mininos 5: Perto de Navelcaru em Tetapuly xpaõs 28, destes vẽ a doutr<sup>a</sup> mininos 8. Em Puldevael xpaõs 50, destes vẽ a doutrina mininos 20, na schola 4.

3.—Letter of Christopher Joam, S.J., 1609, Ceylon Antiquary, II. 23.

4.—Pridham, Ceylon 644.

A esta Rerid<sup>a</sup> pertence a Igreja de Putalão q está na Terra firme de fronte de Calpeti orago, S.Fr<sup>co</sup> Xavier. Tem xpaõs 400, destes virão a doutr<sup>a</sup> 5, Tem esta Resid<sup>a</sup> de districto 8 legoas e 20 Alders. O P<sup>e</sup> desta Rend<sup>a</sup> sempre anda de Igreja em Igreja e mt<sup>o</sup> ariscado p<sup>r</sup> cousa dos mt<sup>os</sup> Elefantes, Tigres, Ursos, e Chingalas inimigos q andão p<sup>r</sup> aquelles matos.”

“As you go from Chilao towards the North, along the seashore, there is the Island of Calpeti in which are two Residences and two Fathers in charge of them. The first is Arezari, patron the Assumption of Our Lady: it has 400 Christians, of whom 40 children come daily to catechism, 17 to school. Annexed to this Residence is the church of Tatâya, patron SS. Peter and Paul; it has 450 Christians, of whom 60 children come daily to catechism. The Residence of Etaly in Calpeti: Two leagues to the South of Tatâya is the Residence of Etaly, patron St. Francis Xavier; it has 200 Christians, of whom 30 children come daily to catechism. Annexed to this Residence are the following churches: [1st] Nalequilim, patron the Holy Cross; it has 33 Christians of whom 5 children come to catechism; the 2nd Navelcaru, patron the Assumption of Our Lady; it has 100 Christians, of whom 20 children come daily to catechism. the 3rd Maripo, four leagues from Navelcaru, patron the Holy Cross; it has 50 Christians, of whom 6 children come daily to catechism. Nearer to Etaly there are a few Christians in several villages, [i.e.,] in Telle, 30 Christians, in Palicure 40 Christians, in Cureçure 18 Christians, of whom 5 children come to catechism. Near Navelcaru in Tetapuly [there are] 28 Christians, of whom 20 children come to catechism, 4 to school. To this Residence belongs the church of Putalão which is on the mainland in front of Calpeti, patron St. Francis Xavier; it has 400

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5.—Breve Relacao das Christandades de 1644, Andre Lopes: MS. in the Archives of the Society of Jesus, f.533.

Christians, of whom 5 [0] come to catechism. This Residence has as its district 8 leagues and 20 villages. The Father of this Residence is constantly going from church to church and is in great danger on account of the many elephants, tigers, wild boars, and hostile Sinhalese, who roam through these woods."

Shortly after 1644, on the recapture of Negombo by the Dutch, the Jesuits had to quit the peninsula. The revenues of Kalpitiya, however, did not remain in the hands of the Jesuits even when they were there. For as soon as the lands were cleared and cultivated, the covetous Portuguese officials of Ceylon wrested the lands from the Society, although the grant had been solemnly confirmed by the King of Portugal. But the Government farmers of revenue soon reduced them to their former state, whereupon they were restored to the Society, only to be withdrawn again by the Captain-General Don Philip Mascarenhas, who, as a Jesuit writer pointedly observes, was wrecked off Kalpitiya when he was returning to India as Viceroy.<sup>6</sup>

The Dutch do not seem to have occupied Kalpitiya even after they had expelled the Portuguese from the whole Island, for the English sailors, who survived the wreck of the "Persia Merchant" put into Kalpitiya in 1658, where they were "seased on by the Malabars." One of the sailors describes Kalpitiya as a "verey good harbor for smale barkes or shippes, and a plase of Trade the River beinge great and goinge 4 miles up into the Iland may serve for a plase of Residen[se] if yor worppps thinke it Convenient, for ye Duch are not settled nor beloved by the natives wch if ye English ware would be of greate consernment to our Nation."

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6.—Queyroz Conquista, 872.

7.—Letter of Jonatan Trevisa to "The Right Worlls ye Governer Depety & Comittee of ye Honnorabell Comp<sup>a</sup> of East India Merchants, &c., London: (Received 24th June 1659). M.L.R. IV., 10-11.

But Raja Sinha forestalled the Dutch and sent his troops to fortify Navakkadu and hold Kalpitiya. Thereupon Adrian Van der Meyden marched upon it in 1659, routed the Kandyans and fortified the Chapel of Arasadi.<sup>8</sup> Under the Dutch the peninsula was again "inhabited and cultivated," and when Albrecht Herpot visited it in 1663, the church was still occupied by the Dutch. In 1670<sup>9</sup> the Dutch built their fort on the earlier fortification, and the chapel became a part of the barracks. It does not seem to have been used for divine service, for according to Cordiner (1,335), "over one of the barracks of the fort is a room fitted out as a chapel where divine service was regularly performed during the Dutch Government."

Photo I<sup>10</sup> gives a view of the chapel as it is now after the removal of the roof, the open door showing a niche. No. 2 shows the left niche about 2½ ft. by 1½, which has been turned into a cupboard with shutters, the wooden frame of which is seen in the photo. No. 3 shows the right niche and a part of the central niche (now blocked with concrete) which has been called a "piscina" but is evidently not a piscina. No. 4 shows this central niche, about 4 ft. by 3, which was probably intended to hold an image. No. 5 shows the façade, of which a full view could not be taken on account of the position. The plan annexed is a rough sketch made for me by the photographer, who gives the following indications. "A" is the wall on which the niches are, "B" the same showing the position of the niches. The doors appear to have stood at "C" & "D" on the Northern and Western walls, "C" about 5 ft. by 2, & "D" 5 ft. by 3.

8.—"der Kerk de Calpentynsø Noordhoek" Valentyn, 148.

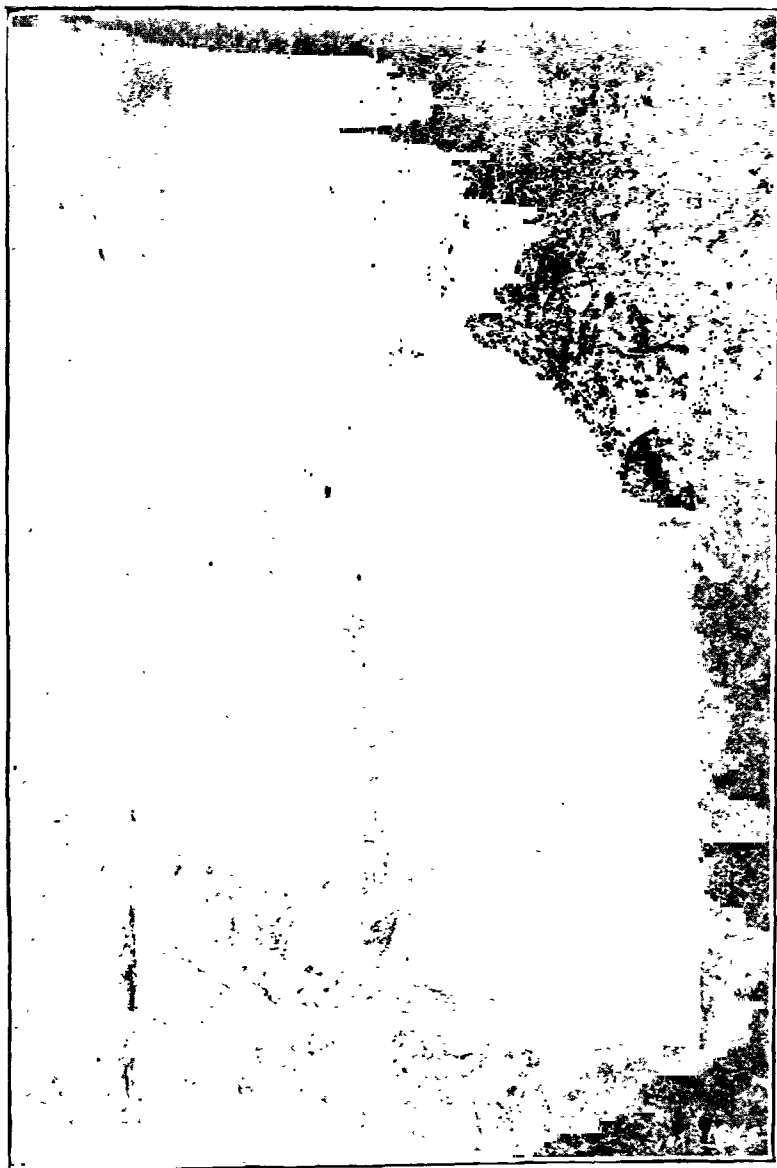
9.—Which is the date on the gate, but Pridham (644) says: "A small square fort was built here by the Dutch in 1696, but it is now chiefly used as a salt store."

10.—Taken by Mr. M. P. Costa, Photographer, Puttalam.















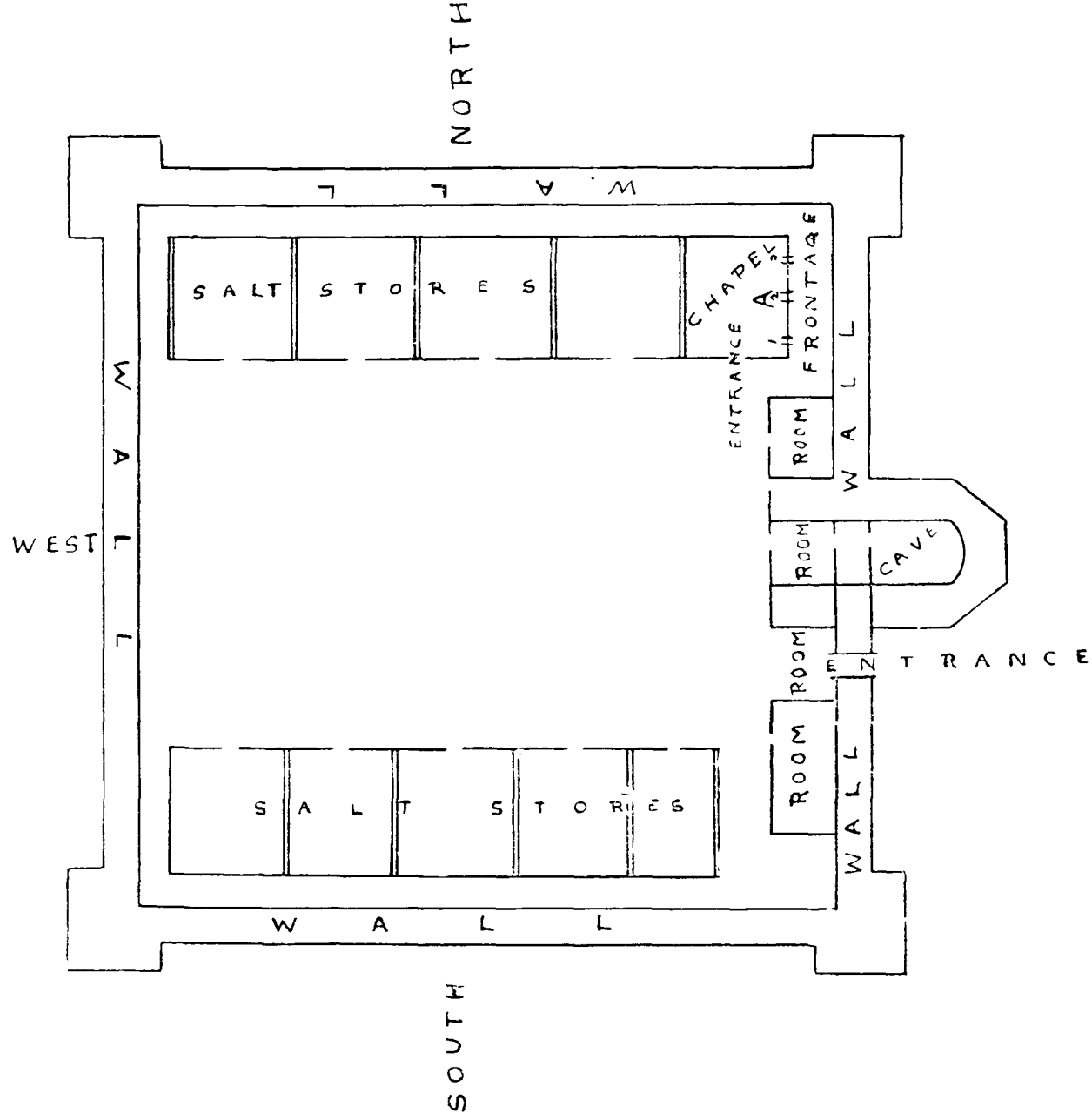
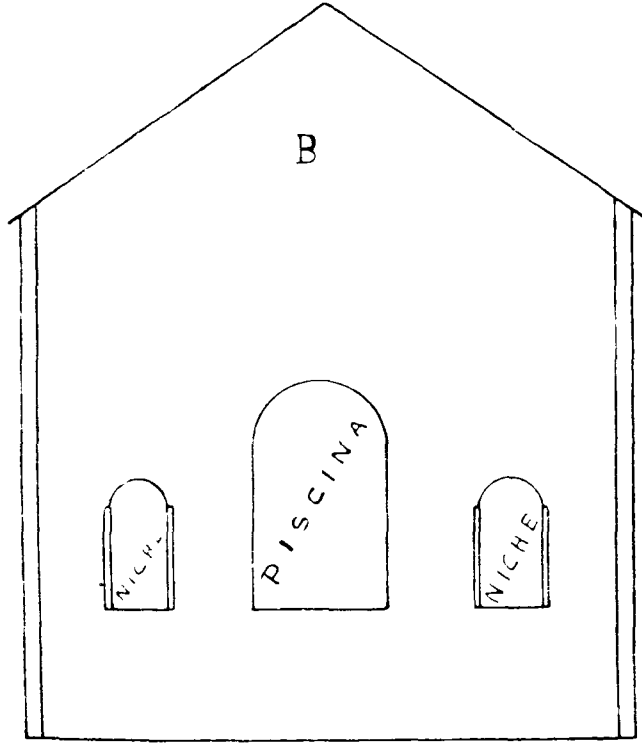












KALPITIYA FORT ROUGH SKETCH PLAN



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. CEYLON BRANCH

### GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, February 19, 1926.*

Present:

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., G.B.E.,  
Patron, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. M. M. Anthonisz	Mr. A. Mendis
„ K. W. Atukorala, Muhan diram	„ T. Muttucumaru, B.A. (Lond.)
The Hon'ble Sir J. T. Broom. Kt.	Prof. S. A. Pakeman, M.A. (Oxon.)
Mr. R. A. Cader	Rev'd. M. Pannalankara
„ J. W. de Alwis	Mr S. Pararajasingham
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala M.A. (Cantab.)	The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera
„ R. St L. P. Deraniyagala. B.A. (Cantab.)	Dr. L. A. Rajapaksa, LL.D.
„ J. de Silva, B.A. (Lond.)	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar	„ E. Reimers
„ G. E. Harding, B.A. (Lond.),	„ Joseph E. Rode
„ E. M. Hare	„ Louis Siedle (Jr.)
„ E. C. T. Holsinger	„ Sri Nissanka
Miss B. Hunsworth	„ C. Suppramaniam
Mr. A. E. Jayasingha	F. A. Tissavarasingha
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A. C.C.S.
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Honorary Secretaries.	

Visitors : 4 Ladies and 15 Gentlemen.

*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 7th October, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. The Governor then introduced the lecturer for the evening. It was a great pleasure to him to find himself occupying the presidential chair at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon. When he was there in the old days he used to preach to the members of the Public Service the necessity of joining the Society, and the duty that they owed to the Colony which they served, to contribute to the records which the Society compiled of all that dealt with the History, Archaeology of the Island. He had not been in Ceylon long enough to be able to judge how far that doctrine had been accepted by the present generation, but it was his earnest hope that all members of the Public Service would recognize the importance of contributing to the Ethnological, Archaeological and Scientific knowledge of the Colony, which contributions should be given to the Society and placed on record.

He would like to say in connection with Dr. Pieris, with what great interest he had watched his literary career since his departure from Ceylon. Dr. Pieris had been kind enough from time to time to send him copies of the books he had written which were important contributions on a comparatively modern period of Ceylon History. He had made the Portuguese period his special province. The essay which he was going to give them that night concerned a passing incident during the period of the Portuguese occupation. He then called upon Dr. Pieris to read his paper.

3. Dr. Pieris said. Your Excellency, in the absence of a President, it gives me the greatest delight to welcome you once more within these walls. The active interest which as President you used to take in this Society is still remembered with gratitude, and we are convinced that your return as our Patron will stimulate the younger members of the Public Services, and others who take an intelligent interest in the history and people of this country, to take on their shoulders a fairer share of the burden which we have so long done our best to carry. This Society can view with some complacency the change which has come over the outlook of the public towards the subjects which we have tried to foster. When fourteen years ago you wished me farewell, Your Excellency used an expression which I shall now recall to you. "Keep this Society going," you said "It is of the utmost importance to your country." Well, we have done our little best, and at any rate we have helped to collect some valuable material. Since your departure we have had Professor Geiger's important work on the Mahawansa. It is chiefly owing to your interest that I was able to place before the public De Queiroz's great compilation, of which a translation from the competent hands of Father S. G. Perera is now in the Press. The contents of the *Foral* of Jaffna have been published, and a full translation of Vol. III. of the Portuguese Tombo, and a *précis* of a part of Vol. II. are now ready. Important contemporary narratives of the time of Constantino de Sa have been secured from Portugal, and the Archivist, Mr. Reimers, has traced a volume of Maps of that period at the Hague. Photographs of another series of Maps, dated 1650, have been obtained from the Library of Congress at Washington, and will soon be available to the public. Arrangements are being made to reproduce the Maps and Plans in the *Resende* Mss, and the valuable letterpress which accompanies them has been translated and only awaits revision on my next visit to England. Perhaps the most exciting find of all is a series of nearly a hundred long letters from the Kings who lived at Kotte, Sitawaka and Senkadagala during the obscure period 1540-1550. Then there is Ove Giedde's Diary of the Danish expedition, which is the subject of to-day's address.

**\* THE DANES IN CEYLON.**

BY P. E. PIERIS.

Early in 1620 a small Danish fleet, which had been despatched from Denmark, sailing from Kronenburg on the sound on 13th August 1618 under the command of Roelant Crape, for the purpose of opening up trade with Tanjore, reached Ceylon with the welcome news that an armament would soon arrive to assist King Senevirat. This was the result of the mission on which the King had sent Boschouwer five years before for he had left Ceylon on 5th May 1615. The Envoy had been unsuccessful in his negotiations with the Hollanders both at Batavia and in Europe, as these people were too preoccupied with their own schemes regarding the Moluccas and the political complications which culminated in the 'Thirty Years' war, to attend to Ceylon. He therefore turned to Denmark, which, with the great commercial prosperity which followed the close of the Swedish war which ended in 1603, was determined to bid for a share in the Eastern trade, and had in 1616 formed a Company to carry out this project.<sup>1</sup>

Boschouwer was indeed fortunate in the time of his arrival. Danish sailors had taken part in the earliest voyages of the Hollanders, and the reputation of Ceylon for wealth was great. This was not lessened by the persuasive eloquence of the Envoy, who went about with all the state of a Prince, and insisted on receiving the honours due to an Imperial Ambassador. He was received by King Christian IV at Friedrichsburg on the eighth of November 1617, as recorded in the King's

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1.—There were nine Directors, including the Admiral and Vice-Admiral who went with the Company's ships, and these were to receive a Commission on all goods carried on the outward and homeward voyages. The King was one of the largest shareholders.

\* Note.—This Article was not intended for publication in the Journal and is only introductory to the Translation of Giedde's Diary prepared by Miss Mary Mackenzie, which will be printed shortly —  
P.E.P.

Private Diary, and he produced his credentials dated 22nd March 1615, from the Imperial Camp at Dondre (Dumbara?) which he appears to have fabricated. Suspended from them was the impression of a large seal in red wax, and bearing as a device a shield divided in accordance with the rules of Heraldry, and displaying ten Coats of Arms. Round the shield was the Chain of an Order, and above a great Crown. This document purported to give full authority to "Marcelo, Prince of Migomuwa, Kukulu Korale, etc., Chief of the Order of the Golden Sun; President of the High Council and the War Council; Second in the Privy Council; Admiral and Captain-General of the Seas in the Empire of Ceylon" in case of his failing to obtain assistance from the Hollanders, to enter into negotiations and to make Treaties with all other potentates.

The result was that on the 30th of March 1618 a Treaty was signed at Copenhagen, by which an alliance was established between the two Kings for a term of seven years. During that period King Christian undertook to support Senevirat against his rebellious subjects, and for this purpose to send three hundred experienced soldiers with the necessary stores, the cost of the expedition being payable immediately on the arrival of the fleet in Ceylon. The monopoly of the Ceylon trade for twelve years was guaranteed to the Danes, and the duties levied on exports and imports were to be divided between the two Kings. A Sinhalese representative was to reside permanently in Denmark, and a Sinhalese Company was to be formed to carry on trade with that country. Finally Senevirat was to assist the promulgation within his dominions of the Christian Faith according to the Augsburg Confession.<sup>2</sup>

2.—The treaty was in Dutch and engrossed on nine quartos of parchment. Attached to it was Boschouwer's seal with its device of ten Coats of Arms, with the so-called Order of the Golden Sun, and the legend "M. Deyp Piagotty Migomme Bandar." Schlegel.

The Danes were delighted at the excellent bargain which they thought they had made, and Boschouwer was treated with the greatest favour by King Christian, who stood as sponsor to the son who was born to him. The Company on its part made large advances of money to him, on the conditions however that he was not to land in Ceylon till one of Senevirat's officers took his place, and that his family and personal effects were to be retained on board till the terms of the Treaty were carried out.

The substantial fruit of this Treaty was that on the 29th of December 1618 a fleet of five vessels with Ove Giedde as Admiral set sail for Ceylon. The two largest vessels, namely, the Elephant which served as the Admiral's ship, and the David, which carried the Envoy and his party, were provided by King Christian, while the Company had fitted out two others, the Christian and the Copenhagen. Accompanying them was a provision boat supplied by the Hollanders. On board there were three hundred stout mercenaries—Danes, Germans, French and English—while the cargo included a large stock of lead and tin, which was expected to find a ready market. Among the stores were 283 carcasses of oxen which the King had bought from his wife's mother Ellen Marsvin. Unfortunately the Admiral was wanting in that tact which was essential for the maintenance of harmonious relations with the haughty Envoy, while his excessive severity soon made him disliked among the men. The friction culminated in a violent scene at Table Bay, where the Admiral attempted to intercept the correspondence which Boschouwer was sending to Copenhagen by the English fleet which was met at that port. The result was that when the fleet set sail again, the David slipped away from her companions and made her way to Stephen van Hagen's Bay, where she arrived



in September 1619. Here Boschouwer, who had been ailing for some time, as well as his little son, died.

<sup>3</sup> The Admiral continued on his voyage with the rest of the ships, and in heavy weather cast anchor off Panawa on the 19th of May 1620. His vessel was soon boarded by some men in Portuguese costume, whose gallant bearing much impressed the Danes. They brought a message from Barretto: he was close by with 400 men and was prepared to join anyone who would fight the Portuguese. He therefore invited the Admiral to come on land and build a fort there, a request with which the latter, in view of his instructions, was unable to comply.

He now sailed on to Pallegama, where the David had already arrived with her dismal news. To add to the Admiral's depression, he now learnt not only that Senevirat had in 1617 made a Treaty with the Portuguese, but that Crape's vessel had been destroyed by the latter<sup>4</sup>, though the Commander himself and thirteen of his men had found shelter with the Nayaker of Tanjore, who had given them Tranquebar for their maintenance.<sup>5</sup> Giedde was hospitably entertained by the Vannia<sup>6</sup> who visited him on board. He presented the Admiral with a sapphire ring which he took off from his own finger. The two then went on land and partook of a meal served under a linen awning stretched on poles fixed on the sand

3.—Giedde's Diary of the voyage, entered from day to day by himself and the account of his doings, were presented to the Danish Chancellor Friis van Kragerup on 1st May 1623, and are published by Schlegel.

<sup>4</sup>.—The capture of Crape's vessel is referred to by de Quieroz, p. 511, and *Fy. S.*iii.,353. The incident is reported in Fernao d'Albuquerque's letter to the King of 12th Feb. 1620. *Bols mao* ii.7.

5.—This subsequently became the Danish settlement of Danisborg.

6.—These headmen are all spoken of as Kings. Those of Pallegama and Maticaloa were brothers.

A letter<sup>7</sup> was also despatched to the King to announce the arrival of the armament, and containing a request that the cost thereof might be furnished without delay. He himself sailed on to Kottiar, to await a reply. On the King's orders none of his men were allowed to proceed to the Capital for fear of being seized by the Portuguese. At the same time messengers arrived from Mayadunna, who was in the neighbourhood, and who now sent an authority which he had received from the King to negotiate with the Danes on his own behalf. Giedde however, while expressing his willingness to befriend Mayadunna, decided not to give any definite answer till he heard from the King.

On the 24th June the King's Secretary and an aged Mudaliyar came on board with a letter from Court. They wished to know if the Danes undertook to drive the Portuguese out of the country, while Giedde on his part demanded payment of the Company's claim, and showed a Portuguese translation of Boschouwer's Treaty to the Secretary, who was familiar with the language. The latter expressed his surprise at its terms. He was sure that the Envoy had no authority to bind the King by such conditions. Even before he set out on his mission the Portuguese had plundered the Capital and driven the King to shelter in his mountain fortress. His army, which then numbered 5,000 men, had since been reduced to about two or three thousand by the revolt of Baretto who had killed his best officers, so that he had no capable Commander left. He had also robbed him of his most precious jewels, including his greatest treasure, a cat's eye which for its size and beauty was beyond price, for he knew where they were concealed.

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7.—The letter was written in German. The costs were fixed by Giedde at 94,449 rix dollars.

It was therefore out of the question for the King to raise the sum which was demanded from him.

Giedde was greatly perturbed by this development and sent one of his staff with the Secretary to discuss the matter with the King. Four days after their departure, on the 2nd of July, Mayadunna himself sought refuge with the Danes, for the Portuguese were close on his tracks, and was conveyed by them to the neighbouring island of Paravi Tivu. Mayadunna rewarded Giedde for the assistance, with a wonderful sapphire and a ring set with rubies. Complaints however were soon made that his people were robbing the country side, and Giedde advised the aggrieved people to meet violence with violence. There were also complaints that the Danes themselves had shot five of the King's best cows, and Giedde could only plead that unless they were regularly provided with meat they would have no alternative but to obtain it for themselves.

On the 28th of July the Secretary returned with a message from the King that Boschouwer's credentials were a forgery, and that the only offer of terms he had been authorised to make were that whoever came to his assistance could retain any two of the harbours which were taken from the Portuguese. The Council thereupon resolved that Giedde himself should wait on the King to discuss the situation. Before however he could start news was received that the Portuguese, who were now close at hand, had attacked and killed Baretto. It seems that the latter had attacked and killed the Vanniya of Panawa and was plundering his house, when the Portuguese who had come up from Galle, fell on him in great force. He had made a desperate effort to escape to a high hill which is said never to have been climbed before, when he slipped down and fell, and was immediately slain. De Sa, who was in pursuit, sent his head to Senevirat (De Quieroz p.596).

On the eighth Giedde and the Secretary started on their journey,<sup>8</sup> while the King on his part came to Venthanen to meet them. A small house had been prepared with linen awnings for Giedde's reception and he was escorted there by one of the courtiers over linen spread on the ground for a distance of 20 yards. On the morning of the 17th<sup>9</sup> he was given an audience. Giedde speaking in German which was interpreted into Portuguese addressed the monarch by a string of titles<sup>10</sup> which Boschouwer had invented for him. The King listened with amusement till at last even his trained self-control gave way, and placing his hand over his mouth he turned to his Ministers and laughed aloud. After the interview was over he sent his Secretary to inquire what was the meaning of the title of the Golden Sun with which he had been saluted, for the only title which he had was that of King of Lanka. Giedde, taken much aback, offered to delete the rigmarole from his official documents, but was told that he need not trouble, for their presence, while they benefitted none, also did no harm.

The negotiations which followed were, if Giedde is to be believed, conducted on his side with a degree of acrimony which if conveyed to the King, might have had

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8.—The route taken was by way of Mottuaram, Pallegama, Sampanturai, Patipal, Nilgala, Hocheville, Bibile, where Giedde specially noted the pepper plantations. Cannapaduhle, from there to a lake, and thence to Venthanen.

9.—The King had arrived the previous evening, but as he was having his head washed he could not see Giedde. The ceremony of washing was a most elaborate one.

10.—The titles as given by Baldaeus were as follows:

"Raja Singa, emperor of Ceylon, king of Candea, Cota, Ceytanaca, Dambadan, Amorayapora, Jafnapatnam, prince of Ouva Mature, Dinavaca and the four Corles, great duke of the seven Corles, Matale, earl of Cotiar, Trinquenemale, Batecalo, Velase, Vintana, Drembra, Panciapato, Veta, Putelaon, Valare, Gale, Bell'gaon: Marquis of Duranura, Raticenura, Tripiane, Acciapato, lord of the sea-ports of Alican, Columbo, Negombo, Chilau, Madampe, Calpentyn, Aripiture, Manaar and of the fishery of precious stones and pearls: lord of the golden Sun." (Churchill Voyages Vol. III p. 601).

embarrassing results. The latter's attitude was quite simple. Boschouwer's credentials were a forgery, he had in all important details exceeded his authority, and it was not possible for the King to provide the sum of money demanded from him. He was however anxious for help and was prepared to purchase it on the terms offered to the Hollanders, namely, the retention by them of two of the fortresses which might be captured. In spite of Giedde's discourteous behaviour, it was noted that the King cordially shook hands with him when he left after one of his interviews. Giedde had stated that he was authorised to remain in the country till another representative arrived from Denmark. Thereupon the King offered to give him the appointments and emoluments held by Migomuwe Rala, with the rank of a Prince.

The King pressed the point, were the Danes strong enough to drive out the Portuguese? Otherwise he could not take the risk of a breach with them after the peace he had entered into three years ago. To this question Giedde could only give an evasive reply. He had no authority to enter into hostilities with the Portuguese, and as a matter of fact the three hundred men he had started with were greatly reduced in number by death and desertions.

The consequence was that Giedde was notified that he had permission to leave, and that the King would send his own Ambassador to Denmark. Giedde thereupon begged for a cargo of merchandise, but the King had none in stock save some wax and pepper to which Giedde was welcome, and the latter was informed that his escort was ready to start.

Bluster had been carried to the extreme point but had failed, and therefore Giedde began on a different track. The result was that on the 22nd at ten o'clock

at night, a fresh treaty in 24 articles was signed. The preamble declared that as Migomuwe Rala had acted falsely and outside the scope of his authority in respect of the first treaty, the King could accept no obligation thereunder. The King ceded to the Danes the whole district of Trincomalee, reserving for his subjects the right to worship at the shrines which were there. Authority was given to the Danes to construct a fort and garrison the same immediately, the King promising to assist in the work, to provision the garrison at his own expense, and to support it with his own army in case of any attack. Such forts as were captured by the allies together with their ammunition, would be the property of the King of Denmark, but the booty was to be shared between them. The monopoly of the trade of the country was granted to the Danes from among the European races, and the King undertook to assist them to secure cargo. They were also allowed to fell timber, such as ebony, which they required, in any part of the Island. Their own trade was to be exempt from duty, but they could levy their own duties at Trincomalee, except in respect of what was imported for the King's personal use. There were provisions regarding wrecks and the preaching of Christianity, while the right to coin larins, fanams and similar coins was reserved for the two Kings.

The acute tension was over and the signing of the Treaty, which was in Portuguese, was accompanied by much laughter and talk. It was examined by Schlegel in the Danish archives with a translation in Sinhalese. The signature of the King was attested by that of two of his Councillors, and the impression of his seal, which was very small, was made in wax across a silken thread.

The King lent Giedde his son's horse to use on his return journey, and promised to allot to Boschouwer's wife some villages for her maintenance; he also

explained what his views were with regard to Mayadunna, and presented Giedde with an elephant and some precious stones. The following morning the Admiral started<sup>11</sup> for the coast, reaching his fleet on the 30th.

On the 1st of September the Council met. There was no longer any doubt that the Danes had been badly deceived by Boschouwer, and Peter van Zanten, a Hollander with much experience of the East, who had accompanied him to Denmark, was judged to be guilty of abetting him in the fraud. He was a shareholder in the Company and a member of the Council itself; from this he was now expelled, and at the same time he was turned out bag and baggage from his cabin. Boschouwer's body was taken on land and buried without any ceremony, while a few days later the remains of his son were interred with great solemnity, as being the godson of King Christian. An inventory was prepared of all the property of the late Envoy and of his wife, for the benefit of the Company, and she was allowed to retain only one maid servant to attend on her. She was however allowed to accept Senevirat's offer of protection, though she subsequently left the Court and went to Tranquebar, for which place Giedde himself set sail<sup>12</sup> on the 10th of the month.

It was not till the 21st of March 1921 that Giedde<sup>13</sup> returned to Kottiyar. He found that the David had sailed away, the Copenhagen was wrecked beyond all

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11.—The route taken was by way of Vargamme, Nilgala, Talleville, Battevitti, Sampanturai and Mottuarm.

Giedde was accompanied to Court by a suite of seventeen of whom several had to be left behind owing to illness.

12.—He was accompanied by an interpreter provided by Mayadunna

13.—The proceedings of Giedde in these waters, as in the case of the early Portuguese, were pure acts of piracy. All trading vessels were regarded as lawful prey and were captured, unless they were protected by a pass from a Spanish officer or belonged to some one the Danes were anxious not to offend.

hope of salvage, and little or nothing had been done by Erich Grubbe, who had been left in charge, towards constructing the proposed fort. Indeed this latter's period of residence is only rendered noteworthy by the fact that he took the opportunity to strike some larins<sup>14</sup> with the legend "Don Erich Grubbe," thus assuming for himself a royal privilege and a Portuguese title.

It was clear to Giedde that further delay on his part would only lead to greater loss, for the soldiers on the *Patience*, a vessel which he had captured at Cape Verde on the way out, were in a state of mutiny. He therefore set about collecting such cargo as he could, while he sent urgent and repeated messages to the King offering to build a fort if the materials were supplied, and also requesting that the Ambassadors whom the King proposed to send to Denmark,<sup>15</sup> should be despatched together with a worthy present for King Christian. These proved of no avail, while Mayadunna's request that a fort should be built on his account was refused. Giedde therefore made his final arrangements. Offenders to whom justice had to be administered were duly punished, three of them being keel hauled. Instructions were given for the guidance of the soldiers who were to go to Tranquebar,<sup>16</sup> one being that under no circumstances were they to leave their table after meals till Grace had been said. And then at midnight on the 31st of May, as Grubbe<sup>17</sup> who had been sent with

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14.—One of these was presented to Giedde on his arrival.

15.—Giedde further sent a verbal message to the effect that if Senevirat so desired, either he or Grubbe could remain in the Island till further instructions were received from Denmark.

16.—The pay of a soldier at Tranquebar was fixed at six fanams or half a rix daler a week, with free rice.

17.—As a matter of fact Grubbe made his way back to Denmark shortly after Giedde.



his three horses on an urgent mission to Court had not yet returned, Giedde fired a cannon and hoisted anchor on his way home.<sup>18</sup>

4. In moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer Mr Collins stated that though the existence of the Diary in the British Museum had only lately been revealed it was only fair to say that the late Mr. Donald Ferguson must have been aware of its existence and have been familiar with the text to which he made more than one allusion in various writings.

But, so far as was known, the diary had never been translated and published. Ferguson had been cut off too early in life to have done so.

He was in a position to state, however, that Government had agreed to the publication of the diary in the Journal of the Society.

They were deeply grateful to Dr. Pieris for his interesting paper.

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- 18.—The cargo collected by Giedde consisted of tamarinds, wax, honey, arrack, fish, ebony and pepper.
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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 26, 1926.*

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.

*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 7th October, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. Letters from Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. L. J. B. Turner regretting thier inability to attend the meeting were read.

3. The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, was nominated as a member of the Society and it was decided that on election he should be invited to become the President of the Society.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled " The Fourteenth Century in Ceylon History," by Mr. C. E. Corea.

Resolved that the Paper be accepted for reading, but that Mr. Corea be first addressed in terms of a minute by Mr. Codrington suggesting certain amendments to the Paper.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled " The Sinhalese Alphabet and the language of the early inscriptions," by the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero.

Resolved that the Paper be referred to a sub-committee consisting of Mr. H. W. Codrington, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara for favour of their opinion.

Resolved that the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero be informed that it will not be possible to arrange a meeting at which this Paper can be read before the 20th of April.

6. Laid on the table correspondence ending with the Colonial Secretary's letter dated 3rd November, 1925, on the subject of the compilation of a Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, together with a report by Prof. W. Geiger.

Resolved that the names of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mr. H. W. Codrington and Prof. W. Geiger be recommended to Government for appointment to serve on the proposed committee.

7. Letter dated 18th March, 1926, from the Librarian, Public Library, Colombo, inquiring whether the Society would supply the Library with a copy of the Society's Journal free of charge, was read

Resolved that a copy of the Journal be sent free.

8. Letter dated 13th November, 1925, from the Colombo Apothecaries Co., stating that they have no way of substantiating their claim for extra charges and that they have no option but to credit our account with the amount, was read.

9. Letter dated 1st February, 1926, from the Agent, Imperial Bank of India, stating that the accounts, *viz.*, Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund and Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund that stood in the name of the late Mr. G. A. Joseph have been transferred to the Society, was read.

10. The following ladies and gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, *viz.*, Mrs. E. Hunsworth, Mrs. Isabel Lovell Dorsey and Messrs. Ralph St. Louis Pieris Deraniyagala, B.A. (Cantab.), S. A. M. Sugatapala, James de Silva, B.A. (Lond.), Gregory Louis Augustine Dunphy, Collin Alfred Wijeyesekara, Dr. Louis A. Rajapaksa, LL.D., B.A. (Lond.), and Dr. Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekara, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.).

11. Laid on the table a list of the following members elected by circular, *viz.*, Messrs. T. Muttucumaru, B.A. (Lond.), N. J. de Silva, N. K. de Silva Wikramasingha and R. W. F. Jayasingha.

12. Considered date and business of the next General Meeting.

Resolved that this be left in the hands of Mr. H. W. Codrington and the Honorary Secretaries.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colonial Secretary's Office, June 14th, 1926.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.,  
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka  
The Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva  
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate  
Mudaliyar  
The Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jaya-  
tilaka, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.  
The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera  
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.,

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C C S.,  
Hony. Secretary.

*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 26th March, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The draft Annual Report for 1925 was read and passed.

3. Considered the nomination of Office-bearers for 1926-27.

The Honorary Secretary stated that under Rule 18 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Senior Vice-President, retires in order of longest continuous service, and that under Rule 20 the Hon Mr D. B. Jayatilaka and Prof. R. Marrs retire by seniority, and Mr. A. M. Hocart and Mr. Lionel de Fonseka by least attendance

Resolved to recommend that Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka be elected a Vice-President in place of Dr. P. E. Pieris, and that Dr. Pieris, Mr. Hocart, Mr. de Fonseka, and Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratna be elected members of the Council.

4. Laid on the table the following papers: (a) Sinhalese Magic and Spells by the Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva, (b) The Log Book of Admiral Baillie de Suffren, 1781-1784, by Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S.

Resolved that Mr. de Silva's Paper be read at the Annual General Meeting and that Mr. Seymour's Paper be referred to a sub-committee consisting of the Hon Mr. E. W. Perera, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and C. H. Collins for favour of their opinion.

5. The following gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, viz., Messrs. Richard Leshe Brohier, Gardiye Hewavasam Dharmaratna Kumaradasa, Franklin Charles Gimson, B.A., C.C.S. and Percival Stephen Maartensz.

6. Considered date and business of the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved to leave this in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries; a date being fixed early in July if possible.

7. Resolved to recommend to the next General Meeting that Rule 25 of the Society's Rules and Regulations be amended by the substitution of the words "on such date as the Council may appoint" for the words "in March" in line 2 thereof

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 2, 1926.*

Present :

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C. M.G., G.B.F.,  
Patron, in the Chair.

Mr. M. M. Anthomsz	Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana
„ W. E. Bastian	„ C. H. Jolliffe, A.M.I.M.E.
„ Razeen A Cader	„ A. Mendis
„ J. W. de Alwis	„ H. Sri Nissanka
„ George E. de Silva	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ Peter deSilva, B.A., (Lond )	The Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
„ R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.	„ J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
„ S. Baron Dias	„ S. M. A. Sugathapala.
„ A. E. Jayasinha	„ C. Suppramaniam
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.	„ F. A. Tissavarasinghe
	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 3 Ladies and 16 Gentlemen.

*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 19th February, 1926, were read and confirmed
2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following Annual Report for the year 1925, which was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. L. J. B. Turner and seconded by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1925.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1925-26.

## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 27th March, 1925, when the Annual Report and a Paper entitled "Rajasinha II. and his British Captives" by Mr. Edmund Reimers were read. At a General Meeting held on June 5th, "Notes on Some recently discovered Portuguese Plans" by Mr. Edmund Reimers and Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt D., C.C.S., and a Paper entitled "Identification of the Port of Kalah" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, CC S., were read. The third General Meeting was held on October 7th when Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., read a Paper on "Johnson's Expedition to Kandy in 1804." His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., delivered a presidential address entitled "Prolegomena to a Scientific Study of the Sinhalese Language."

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXIX. No. 77, 1924, was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the Meetings, the following Papers and Notes :—

(i.) The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Kataragam God) with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in His praise and side-lights from Greek Religion and Literature, by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A. (Cantab.).

(ii.) The Socketed Clay Piping from Kotte (Jayawardhanapura, circa 1415-1457), by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera.

(iii.) Vijaya Bahu's Inscription at Polonnaruwa by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.

(iv.) Excerpta Maldiviana by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retired).

(v.) The Council Chamber inscriptions at Polonnaruwa by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

(vi.) The Doratiyawa Sannasa by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and Mr. D. P. D. Mirihelle.

(vii.) Note on Greeving's Diary by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.

(viii.) The Crooked Comb by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

## MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 366 members of whom 46 are Life Members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 20 members were elected, *viz.* Messrs. E. C. T. Holsinger, T. D. S. A. Dasanaika, A. M. Caldera, B.A. (Lond.), S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, W. E. Pine, D. J. A. Abeyaratne Irving B. Gunawardana, Charles Hubert de Mel, B. L. Sarnelis Silva J. R. Toussaint, C.C.S., M. M. Anthonisz, L. E. Blaze, B.A., P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A., E. M. Hare, H. Sri Nissanka, Joseph E. Rode, Dr. A. Rajasingham, Mr. S. V. A. Rajapaksa, Messrs. E. H. vander Wall, and L. P. Jayasuriya.

## LIFE MEMBERS.

The following have become Life Members, *viz.*, Messrs. A. de S. Kanakaratna and S. O. Sirimanne.

## DEATHS.

The Council records with regret, the deaths of the Rt. Rev. Dr. R. S. Copleston, D.D., the late Metropolitan of India, and of Mr. C. Batuvantudave

The late Right Reverend Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston joined the Society in 1882 as a life member and was elected President in 1885, which office he held till 1901. He contributed the following Papers to the Society's Journal, *viz.* :—

(i.) On the first fifty jatakas.

(ii.) Address on the Verification of the ancient chronicles and histories of Ceylon.

(iii.) The identification of Sirivardhanapura of the Mahawansa.

(iv.) The Epic of Parakrama.

(v.) A sketch of the Early History of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

At a General Meeting held on 5th June, 1925, the following resolution on the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Copleston was passed :—

"That the Council and members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society place on record the sense of loss which the Society has sustained through the death of the Right Revd. Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston, who was a life member and for 17 years President of this Society."

#### RESIGNATION.

The following gentlemen resigned their membership during the year, *viz.* :—

The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Messrs. B. W. C. Leefe, T. B. Madawala, E. L. P. Ratnayaka, S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, and U. D. R. Caspersz.

#### PATRON.

The departure of His Excellency Sir William Henry Manning, K.C.M.G., C.B., Patron of the Society, falls outside the period now under review, but the thanks of your Council and the members of the Society are due to him for his assistance, the frequency with which he presided at its meeting and the interest he always took in its proceedings. His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., who had been President of this Society from 1909 to 1912, has kindly consented to succeed Sir William as Patron.

#### VICE-PATRON AND PRESIDENTSHIP.

Sir (then Mr.) Cecil Clementi, K.C.M.G., who was elected Vice-Patron of the Society in 1923 succeeded the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., as President of the Society in the same year. He resigned from these offices on leaving the Island in October, 1925, to assume the Governorship of Hong Kong.

Your Council desire to place on record their sense of indebtedness to Sir Cecil Clementi for the valuable services which he rendered to the Society during the last three years as Vice-Patron and President.

#### HONORARY SECRETARY.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., who went on leave in December, 1924, returned to the Island in September, 1925, and having been re-elected, relieved Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., of his duties as Co-Honorary Secretary. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Codrington for his assistance during this period.

#### COUNCIL.

Under Rule 18 the Senior Vice-President, Dr. Joseph Pearson D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., retired by longest continuous service. Messrs. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., and R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., were elected Vice-Presidents.

Under Rule 20, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., A. M. Hocart retired by seniority, and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne and Dr. R. L. Spittel by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and A. M. Hocart were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by the election of Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 203. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges, *viz.* :—

The Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; The Smithsonian Institute, The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; The Asiatic Society, Bengal; The Asiatic Society, Bombay; The Musée Guimet, Paris; The Royal Colonial Institute; and l'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient, Hanoi.

For donations to the following, *viz.* — The Archaeological Survey of India; Archaeological Survey of Burma, The Government of India; the Director, Colombo Museum; The University of Punjab, Lahore; The Government of Siam; The Rev. Father S. Gnanaprakasa-ar, Nal'ur; Prof. W. Geiger, Munich; and the Forest Department, Madras Presidency.

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY FUND.

The following have been purchased during the year from the above fund, *viz.* :—

- i. Articles on Ceylon.
- ii. Macready: Selalihini Sandesa,
- iii. Sinhalese Pamphlets.
- iv. Goldsmidt: Archaeological Reports, 1875-81.
- v. Upham: Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, Vols. I-III.
- vi. Royal Asiatic Society Centenary Volume.
- vii. Farrar: Old Ceylon.
- viii. Seligmann: The Veddahs.
- ix. Dhalla: Zoroastrian Civilization.
- x. Rhys Davids: Pali Dictionary

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1925.

The acting Archaeological Commissioner has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following summary of the work done by his department in 1925 :—

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY, 1925.

The work of conservation was continued during 1925.

In completing Monastery "I" at Anuradhapura, it was necessary to replace the missing stones of the retaining wall of the pond to prevent the collapse of the surrounding masonry and earth. This was done by slabs of concrete faced with cement mixed with gravel. So far the result has proved satisfactory and casual observers have not detected the false stone, whilst experts cannot be deceived. It is, however, too soon to judge its efficacy, as the cement and the stone must weather before one can tell what the result will be.

In the course of the work at this Monastery it became apparent that the ancient builders were not so exact as might at first be supposed. Their stones were sometimes cut short and a gap resulted.

Such mistakes were also discovered to a much greater extent at the Hāṭṭa dāge at Polonnaruwa, where the biggest work of conservation has been carried on, and is now nearing completion.

As one corner of the Sat Mahal Prāsāda next to the Hāṭṭa dāge was threatening to fall, an iron collar was put round one of the upper storeys and the building repointed. It is doubtful whether it will be



possible to dispense with the iron collar, as was hoped, on account of the bricks at the bottom of the floor being in too dilapidated a state to make underpinning sufficiently satisfactory for the support of the heavy weight of the upper storeys.

The Hataras Kōṭuwa of Rankot Vehera was underpinned and repointed, as the foundations had badly deteriorated and the brick-work was beginning to sink.

The work on the Indi Kaṭu Saya at Mihintale was completed. It was at first assumed that the dome was hemispherical, but it is more likely to have been elongated, as a circular outline can only be obtained by placing the bricks in steps, a method of building dagabas which may be possible, but for which there is no authority.

A plaster of Paris model of a conserved monastery on the Arippu Road was prepared, and presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, where it is hoped that it will be of considerable value to students in England.

A plan of Anuradhapura showing the sites of ancient ruins has been drawn and printed in pocket form.

A trace was made of parts of an ancient road from Anuradhapura to Mannar which the villagers still point out and call Randōli Pēra.

A small expedition was undertaken to Galbendī Niraviya in the Vilpattu Game Sanctuary. The place was difficult to locate but eventually revealed an extensive site covered with platforms some of which were obviously double. It is impossible to see whether the others are single or double without excavating. Almost all are rubble, as at Vehera Bandigala.

In addition to the Archaeological and Ethnological Section of part 2 of the Ceylon Journal of Science, which gives a summary of the research work up to the present, a systematic account with photographs and architectural drawings has been started by the publication of Mr. E. R. Ayrton's papers in the form of the 1st volume of the Archaeological Survey Memoirs. The 2nd volume is already in the hands of the Printer, and it is hoped that annual publications will in future be possible.

#### ANNUAL GOVERNMENT GRANT TO THE SOCIETY.

In response to the application made by your Council for an increase of grant, the Government kindly decided to give the Society an extra Rs. 500 per annum for a period of three years and informed the Council that this extra grant will not be continued after this period, unless private subscriptions have in the meantime increased proportionately.

#### ACCOMMODATION.

There is no room for expansion of the Society's library, and systematic arrangement together with logical classification is quite impossible in the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

#### ETYMOLOGICAL SINHALESE ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

The correspondence, on the subject of the compilation of an Etymological Sinhalese English Dictionary, between the Education Department and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, was referred to your Council for their advice by the Director of Education. A sub-committee consisting of Prof. Robert Marrs (Chairman), Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Gate Mudaliyar

W. F. Gunawardhana and the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero, was appointed to consider and report whether a Dictionary such as is proposed is desirable, and if so, on what lines it should be written.

The Council forwarded a report to the Director of Education with a copy of the same to the Government, suggesting that it should be referred to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger on his arrival in the Island for his opinion and advice. This was done and Government forwarded a copy of Prof. Geiger's report, with a request that the Council would suggest the names of suitable persons to form a preliminary Sinhalese Dictionary Committee, to advise Government on the subject.

The names of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mr. H. W. Codrington and Prof. Geiger were accordingly recommended for appointment to serve on the committee.

#### FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,127.41 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,235.57 and expenditure was Rs. 4,215.67.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 1,009.50 and Rs. 2,032.81 to the credit of the Society are also annexed.

Your Council desire to thank Mr. Herbert Tarrant for having so kindly audited the Society's accounts for the year under review.

**Receipts and Payments Account of the  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH,  
for the Year 1925**

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
<b>Balance on the 31st December, 1924 :</b>					
R.A.S., C.B. A/c in Bank	3,582	14	Charges		
Cash on Hand	29	25	Salaries		
Petty Cash	19	25	Books, Account :		
Postage	17	93	Purchases R.A.S. Library Fund	236	52
R.A.S. Library Fund in Bank	458	94	Building do	86	00
				322	52
Entrance Fee			Sundries		
Sale of Publications			Postage	101	12
Life Membership Commutations			Petty Cash	11	75
Government Grant			Bank Charges	3	25
Sundries :—				219	12
Commission	00	60	R.A.S. C.B. Account		
Bank Interest	38	87	(Current) Imp.		
			Bank	Rs. 1,958	08
Annual Subscription, 1926	12	50	R.A.S. Library Fund,		
1925 ..	1,543	50	Imp. Bank	2,094	50
1924 ..	257	25		136	42
1923	22	00	R.A.S., C.B. Account (Fixed		
			Deposit, Imp. Bank :	1,000	00
			Cash on Hand	16	85
			Petty Cash	4	50
			Postage	11	56
				3,127	41
				7,343	08

Audited and found correct,

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,

Hony. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

30th June, 1926.

# Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1925.

PARTICULARS.	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1924	1,009	50
	Rs. 1,009	50

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

30th June 1926

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,  
Hony. Treasurer,  
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

# Receipts and Payments Account of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1925

PARTICULARS.	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance		
Fixed Deposit	1,200	00
Current Account	832	81
	2,032	81
	Rs. 2,032	81

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

30th June, 1926.

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,  
Hony. Treasurer,  
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

3. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Mr. F. A. Tissavarasinghe, the following office-bearers for 1926-27 were elected :—

*President :*

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.

*Vice-President :*

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

COUNCIL :

*New Members :*

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.,  
Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratne,

*Re-Elected:*

Mr A. M. Hocart,  
,, Lionel de Fonseka.

*Honorary Treasurer :*

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.

*Honorary Secretaries :*

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman.

4. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and seconded by Mr. H. Sri Nissanka, Rule 25 of the Rules and Regulations of the Society was amended by the substitution of the words "on such date as the Council may appoint" for the words "in March" in line 2 thereof.

5. The Chairman introduced the lecturer and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva read the following Paper entitled "Sinhalese Magic and Spells."

**SINHALESE MAGIC AND SPELLS.**BY W. A. DE SILVA.

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Apart from ceremonies, dances and incantations performed for averting what is believed to be the evil powers of spirits and demons, there is a class of magic, which is practised to some extent in Ceylon with the object of casting spells on others and causing them injury. The methods pursued for this purpose are designed with a degree of elaboration showing the wide and varied extent to which the cult has been carried among the Sinhalese at one time or other.

Black magic is practised for causing injury to men as well as animals and even to trees and inanimate objects. In this connection the influences of the senses, such as sound, sight, smell, touch, taste and mind are all brought into bearing.

The aspects of planetary movements indicating times of the year, month and day and the phases of the moon are also taken into account in the practice of black magic in addition to designs, drawings and incantations.

The rites and incantations practised for injuring individuals take the form of sympathetic magic either worked through the association of ideas of similarity or of contiguity or both. In both these the assumption is that things act on each other at a distance "through a secret sympathy, the impulse being transmitted from one to the other by means of what we may conceive as a kind of invisible ether, not unlike that which is postulated by modern science for a precisely similar purpose, namely, to explain how things can physically affect each other through a space which appears to be empty."

In the one case it is believed that an effect resembles its cause, and in the other it is believed that things, which have been once conjoined or had been in contact remain, and in such relations that whatever is done to the one must similarly effect the other.

The following is a rough classification of some of the methods believed to be effective in causing injury to others:—

1. The selection of maleficent times and hours.
2. The reciting of verses with a particular arrangement of letters and syllables known as *vaskavi* (verses that cause evil).
3. The reciting of charms.
4. The casting of evil eye (*esvaha*).
5. Utterance of evil words (*kata vaha*).
6. Direction of evil thoughts (*ho vaha*).
7. Direction of confusion through imprecations (*evol*).
8. Direction of devices (*devol*, *angam*, *pilli*).
9. Devising of traps (*hadi*).
10. The direct charming of objects (*huniyam*).

Persons who practise black magic consider that the evil effects of their efforts are intensified when they select certain special times and hours for their practice. Every day, hour and moment are either auspicious or inauspicious in accordance with the movements of the planets. Some times are auspicious for all activities, other times are neutral, some others are maleficent. The charts which are prepared by astrologers who calculate the aspects of the planets give particulars of these hours computed each year for the guidance of those who believe in them. A person intent on doing a maleficent act selects the most maleficent time for his activities.

In addition to auspicious and inauspicious hours prescribed for general purposes, there are other means adopted to intensify the effects of these devices.

There are several books in Sinhalese dealing with this matter. One is known as Yama Kāla (the hours of the god of the nether world). Another Brahma Kāla (the hours of Brahma). There are also Pancapakshi and Indragurulu.

I have not seen a copy of Brahma Kāla, though mention of it is made in other works. The Yama Kāla consists of 165 four-line verses. A translation of Yama Kāla made by me is published in the Ceylon National Review, Vol. 2, Page 202. I quote here a few verses from this book:—

- |    |                    |        |
|----|--------------------|--------|
| 5  | උච්ඡින දවසට        | වන්නේ  |
|    | එළි උනු පස් පැය    | කින්නේ |
|    | යළි දෙව් වසඹට      | යන්නේ  |
|    | එ මෙලාවට පල        | යන්නේ  |
| 6. | අළු කහ අලියක්      | අරගන   |
|    | තබ අඳුරුගෙ නළු     | ලියවින |
|    | දුම්බි මල් තටුවේ   | නියන   |
|    | වකසිය අවර          | මතුරන  |
| 7  | සුදු කඩමල්ලක       | අකුලන  |
|    | අකුලා තම ඉතේ       | තබන    |
|    | යන්ට පිටත්වෙලා     | සොදින  |
|    | ජපකළ කහ අලිය       | රැගෙන  |
| 8. | ගම් තබ අය මග එන    | කොට    |
|    | මගදි සරිලා ඔහු     | හට     |
|    | ජපකළ අල රැගෙන      | අතට    |
|    | මුතබලා තිදහ        | කලට    |
| 9. | තුන් දවසින් මරණ    | ඔහුට   |
|    | ඉසිවරු පැවසූ       | සැරියට |
|    | තුන්මස පසුවෙන      | අතරට   |
|    | තව සෑදෙනෙක් මැරෙයි | එවිට   |

On Sunday, five peya (2 hours) after sunrise Yama Devi (God of the nether world) goes towards the north-west. Start at that hour, take a fresh turmeric (*Curcuma Longa*) root, write on it the name of your rival, place it on a tray of flowers, fumigate it with



Dummala (resin) after repeating the charm a hundred and eight times, tie up a folded white cloth round your waist and keep the root secured in its folds. When you meet the person who has a quarrel with you, take the charmed root in your hand, look intently at his face and break the root. In three days he will die, and according to the words of the Rishis, before the lapse of three months six others of his relatives will meet with death.

Pancapakshi and Indragurulu deal with the arrangement of letters and syllables identified with animals and placing them in position in accordance with their antagonism or friendliness.

*Vas Kavi or Verses for Inflicting Evil.*

In the composition of Sinhalese verses, poets have directions as to the arrangement of certain letters and syllables. Such arrangements are either beneficent, neutral or productive of evil. These affect the poet himself and in a minor degree those who recite the verses. But in preparing Vas Kavi, that is, verses composed specially for causing injury on others, the poet follows certain directions which enable him and his readers to be freed from the evil effects, but in which he directs the evil towards a particular person or object.

Sinhalese grammars give brief directions as to the composition of verses and indicate the proper use of letters and syllables to avert these evil effects. These consist of: arrangement of long and short syllables in groups of three known as *Gana* of which there are eight, four being beneficent and four maleficent; letters which are auspicious and inauspicious; and letters represented as animals whose conjunction is good or evil, according to the character and antipathy of animals placed side by side; also auspicious and inauspicious sounds and auspicious and inauspicious objects and terminal letters used in rhyming a verse.

There are eight *Ganas*. These are described in the following two verses in the "Heladivabhidānavata." :—

බ්‍රහ්ම ගණේ ගුරුම තුනයි සිරි සැප දෙයි	ම	ගණේ
දේව ගණේ ලගුම තුනයි ආයුස දෙයි	න	ගණේ
වායු ගණේ අගට ගුරයි ඇවිදුම් වෙයි	ස	ගණේ
සුරි ගණේ මැදට ගුරයි රෝග වඩයි	ජ	ගණේ
මැදට ලගුයි දිවිවර වෙයි වන්ති ගණේ	ර	ගණේ
මුලට ලගුයි දීර වඩයි වාරි ගණේ	ය	ගණේ
අගට ලගුයි විනාසවෙයි අහස් ගණේ	ක	ගණේ
මුලට ගුරයි සැප පැමිණෙයි ව්‍යු ගණේ	ඛ	ගණේ

Earth Gana three long syllables brings prosperity is (M) Gana

Divine Gana three short syllables brings long life is (N) Gana

Wind Gana ends with a long syllable brings exile is (S) Gana

Sun Gana middle with long syllable brings sickness is (J) Gana.

The middle is short syllable brings death the Fire Gana is (R) Gana

The first is short syllable brings enterprise, water Gana is (Y) Gana

The last is short syllable brings destruction sky Gana is (T) Gana

The first is long syllable brings health lunar Gana is (B) Gana.

The following is the classification of auspicious and inauspicious letters, viz:—

එ ක ය ම ර ජ අ ණ න ල ආ	අවා	කර
උ ප ඛ ග හා භර නම් නිරි වේ	අම	ර
සුර කර පෙර පසු වැඩ දේ	අවා	කර
නසා සුඛ සියල් නරකුරු මැදුම්	ස	ර

a k y m r j a n l ng are evil letters; u p b g h are human letters; the rest of the letters of the alphabet are divine.

If divine letters are placed at the beginning of a verse, or on either side of a name, they bring good luck.

and evil letters destroy all good; as for human letters, their effect is neutral.

There are eight divisions of letters into different animals.

Four of the animals are direct enemies of each of the four others respectively. They are as follows:—

Mongoose	අ ම ක ල	a o t l	Buffalo	ආ මි ද ව	a ô d v
Owl	ඉ ක න ස	i k n s	Leopard	ඊ ග ප හ	í g p h
Cobra	උ ජ බ ළ	u j b l	Horse	ඌ ට ම අ	ú t m ng
Crow	එ ඩ ය	e d y	Deer	ඒ ණ ර	á n r

Of these, the mongoose, buffalo, owl and leopard are direct enemies of cobra, horse, crow and deer.

In arranging the letters in a verse, an antagonistic letter to the letter, with which the name of a party regarding whom the verse deals with, brings him evil.

එක දෙක තුන් සතර කෙළමනා	අවට ගැණ
පසට පසට ගැණ දුටු අවිතුරු	යො නින
මරණ සෝක ලෙඩ වැසනස දිළිඳු	දෙ න
අහිටු මෙයොත් දැහැඳින කවි බඳිනු	ගෙ ණ

Count the letters in the order of one two three four  
In each group of five letters if unfriendly animals are placed

Death, sickness, calamity and poverty will result

So recognize these evil animals in the composition of verses.

There is also a classification of auspicious and inauspicious sounds. Inauspicious sounds, if placed at the commencement and the end of a verse, bring ill luck, whereas auspicious sounds placed in a similar way bring good luck.

සුව සිරි පින් සුඛ, සුසිරි සතුටු අම මද
දිය වැඩ නදන් සොම්නස්, පිවිතුරු වෙසෙස් යාපන්
දෙකේ දේ රැකන්, පිහිටා ඉටා සුවටා
බලුපුටා සද, සොද, පැහැදේ බෙණේ නිරවේ
වැවේ වේ පවති සිරිමත් මෙ අ, සද හා
සළුදු ලොවැට මෙන් ගෙණ නිසු බැඳමෙහි යොදන්නේ

නුසුබ නොසිරි අකුසල් පව් දුසිරි නොසතුටු  
නැසුම් දෙමනස් අපවැඩ පීඩා මරණ දුක් හා

නොමව් නොතැවුරු නොහවා නොපිහිටායේ  
කණ ගොදුරු බිහිරි පිල පිළිකුල් කළු දුඹුල්ලේ

මිලි සැදුම් සෝ වැහැසුම් හැඳුම් ගිහිරුම් බැඳුම්  
බිඳුම් වැනසුම් පහදු, නැති ඉතිඳු සදහරණේ.

Words such as :—

Health, fame, happy, good, prosperity, pleasure, divine influence.

Fame, strength, joy, purity, ability, virtue, victory, life,

Protection, stability, success, satisfaction.

Brightness, completion, good, clear, ease, stability, growth, continuance,

Existence, stability, these and others of similar purport.

Take these in accordance with the usage of the world, and employ them in composing verses of praise.

Bad, misery, demerit, sin, evil, unpleasant,

Destruction, sorrow, harm, ill-treatment, death, suffering,

Despair, unsteady, useless, wavering,

Blind, dumb, deaf, lame, disgust, dirt, weak,

Drooping, unrest, weeping, sobbing, crying, thunder, binding,

Breaking, destruction, waste, no, and words of this nature should be avoided.

There are objects, whose mention at the commencement and at the end of verses, are auspicious and others inauspicious: words as Buddha, Brahma gods, teachers, gold, cows, rivers, honey, etc., are auspicious; and war, fire, lightning, hell, evil spirits, etc., are inauspicious.

බෝසත් බඩ උච්ඳ මෙහෙසුරු දෙවිඳු මුනි ගුරු  
සුරතුරු රුවන් බදකළඟෝ ගහ මගල්මි මේ

මහසෙල්සෑ විමන් නි රජ ගජ කුසුම්කැන්  
රිච් සඳ සිරි සරසවි උමා සෙමර සක්සත්

දිය රම් කදකුමරු ලෝපල් වරුණ වෙසඬුණ  
මඩලග සැවි විදුරුආවි ඉති ලොබ මගල් වන්නම්

අනුමයදන් අතහ අසුරීඝ හන් හිරිඳු යල  
 විගුරු උමතු බලදෙවි තමස් අරිවු විරිදුසන්  
 යුදගිණි නල සෙන ගුවන් වළ බා ගිමුව  
 නරක රකුස් වූ පියස් යම සැබොලව මගුල්  
 සිතුරු දුම්කෙහෙළි පලග නිව්ව ඉඳු දූල්  
 මෙ අ, පටන් අවසන් බැඳුම් ගරහන් වියතෝ

In regard to letters placed at the end of rhymes, there are four letters which bring ill luck if used, unless they are preceded by other letters similar in each case. The letters thus counter-indicated are ya, va, ha, n.

Instances are related of poets who failing to observe these directions have suffered. The more popular a work and the more read it is, where rules of letters have not been followed, the greater is the evil effect on the author. There is an instance related of a Sinhalese poet Vāttāwe Unnānse (The Buddhist monk Vāttāwe) who composed the well-known Sinhalese poem Guttala Kavya. It is said when the poet composed his work he was very proud of his achievement and sent it to another learned monk a poet of great eminence and asked him for his opinion on the work. The critic pronounced it to be an excellent poem of exceptional beauty and merit, but added that Vāttāwe will this time become an exile "for the *Gana* (syllable) in the first verse spelt for him disaster. Vāttāwe saw that he had courted disaster, and without waiting for some calamity that was likely to send him to exile, he voluntarily left the Island and travelled in distant lands.

However, in *Vaskavi* or verses composed specially for the purpose of directing evil influence, the composer follows instructions given for the combination and arrangement of letters and sounds, and direct them against the object of his animosity or the animosity of the person who employs him. The practice of *Vaskavi* is still fairly common in the Island. Sometimes a person engaged in litigation goes to a poet and gets verses composed and reads them for a number of days

to bring confusion of mind to his adversary; a person who loses his property through a theft goes similarly to a poet and gets verses made against the unknown thieves; a person who has some contest with another resorts to a similar resource. The practitioner makes more money out of such verses than from composing literary works.

Many instances are related of well-known Sinhalese poets who, on occasions, had composed effective *Vaskavi* for attaining some useful object.

There is the instance of Kunkunāwe Unnanse, who finding a branch of a Bo tree overhanging a shrine room, and not wishing to cut it down being a sacred tree, composed and recited a verse which had the effect of breaking down the branch.

It is related of the Poet Totagamuwe Sri Rahula Thero that on a certain occasion a Hindu Sannyasi, who was carrying an image of the god of Kataragama, refused to uncover and show it to him when the Poet composed and recited a verse which had the effect of burning the drapery which covered the image and exposing it to his view. The following is the verse reputed to have been composed on this occasion:—

පතිඳු රුහු නැගී දද බැද නඹර	සිලු
විරුදු දින දරණ තෙද නළිනිකල	අලු
දලිඳු නද නිඳුනි හිමිවන තෙදිය	මුලු
පසිඳු බබ සරණ දැකුමට මසින	අලු

Another Poet Barana Ganitayā is said to have composed the following two verses to recover his wife who had fled from him on one occasion:—

අත්බර අයුද දරමින් සිටි කද කුම	ර
යුත්තෙද අයුර යුදවනි ජය ගනන් පෙ	ර
පත්කර නුදුනිනම් මගෙ දිගැසිය පව	ර
අත් අරවා හඹිමි මම තගෙ කදිර පු	ර

පවරා කදිර පුර පුද ලබනා	තුම්මා
නොහැරා මම කියමි ඇතිදුක් නොව	නිම්මා
පවරා හුදුනි නම් මගෙ දිගැසිය	නම්මා
උදුරා මම ගනිමි තගෙ වල්ලී	අම්මා

Kandakumara! who bears weapons in his hands, who  
In the past vanquished the Asuras in battle  
If thou dost not recover my wife for me  
I shall send thee away from thy city of Kadiragama.  
The great one who is receiving homage at Kadirapura  
I am telling thee without reserve the sorrow that  
has fallen me.

If thou dost not cause my wife to repent and come to  
me

Know ye, I shall wrest away from thee thy consort  
Valliamma.

#### *Incantations.*

Charms are also recited for causing evil to others, but these charms are usually accompanied by other devices. Incantations are composed by bringing together letters, syllables and words and arranging them so as to be effective in gaining the required results. Almost all Sinhalese charms are of old origin, some dating to thousands of years. Some of the charms are in colloquial Sinhalese, others are a mixture of Sanscrit and Sinhalese words and a large number are derived from Maldivian known as Kaldu. The similarity of some of the words in the old Maldivian language and old Sinhalese, especially as seen in charms and incantations, opens a wide field for inquiry as to the identity of the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon and the Maldives. A number of charms contains words of Telugu, Canarese, and the languages of Deccan.

#### *Evil Eye, Evil Words and Evil Thoughts.*

There are persons to whom are attributed certain powers, through which they are able to cast spells on others without any charms or devices. These persons often do not cause the injury voluntarily, but their look, words and thoughts when directed towards an object or a person affect such persons adversely.

*Esvaha* or evil eye is averted by many a device, for instance, one commonly notices a scarecrow or the skeleton of the head of a buffalo or some strange object in a garden or field where cultivation is carried on. These objects being conspicuous attract the eye of the passer-by before he could observe the cultivation and the evil effects of his sight or words or thoughts therefore strike the scarecrow and the growing crop is saved from disaster. Similarly one notices a chank shell or bell hung round the neck of cows, bulls and horses as a protection against similar evil effects. Children are made to wear amulets for the same reason.

*Húniyam* is the generic term for all forms of charms and spells, that are used with some device for controlling the activities of others and for causing them harm and injury. One of the principal forms of *Húniyam* is what is known as *Ina* or controlling the will of others. For this purpose, various charms and articles are used. A person, seeking a favour from another, will wear a flower, use a perfume or oil or carry a stick or an amulet or give some charmed food or drink. These devices are believed to gain him the favour of the party concerned. A man in love will resort to similar devices for obtaining favours.

“Marangana Sāhālla,” describing the temptations to which Prince Siddhartha was subjected to by the Evil one, gives a description of a medicament, which describes in general the preparation of such drugs and their use.

- |      |                               |   |
|------|-------------------------------|---|
| 139. | සද අඳුන් බෙහෙතුන් මරගන එදි    | න |
|      | රද ගලේ නොට පේකර මතුර ග        | න |
|      | එද මදන සකු තේනට දිනේ ල        | න |
|      | කොද පස තෙලෙන් අවුසද ගුලි කර   | න |
| 141  | ඉතා ගුලිය අඹිරාලා මතුර ගෙ     | න |
|      | තනා දෙබ්ම පිට නලලේ නිලක ල     | න |
|      | මනා ලෙසට අඹිරු බෙහෙත් ගුලි තු | න |
|      | ඉතා වෙලා එන්දුයි අප අදහ ගෙ    | න |



On that day the daughters of the Evil one, having prepared the medicament.

Having charmed it on the washerman's stone at the bank of the stream .

Getting the demon of passion to take possession of the drug

Made it into pills by mixing it with five kinds of oil.

Having prepared and charmed the Ina pills

Rubbing the same on the eye-brows and on the forehead

And with these three pills well prepared (said they)

Will he be attracted to us and come to us?

Another form of charm is known as *Angang*. When the person who charms blows his breath on to the victim, it is believed that the victim falls down in a fit.

*Pilli* is another form. Where mummified animals and human beings are used, it is believed to be so effective that an evil demon takes possession of the mummy which moves about and carries out orders. The dead bodies generally used are those of beetles, owls and human beings. In the case of beetles and owls the evil one is able to fly and attack a particular person and cause him injury and illness. In regard to human forms, the *Pilli* is used for causing the death of a named person who is at a distance. The performer repeats his incantations on a dead body at a graveyard or the mummified body of a child. When the charm becomes effective, the demon takes possession of the body and gives it animation. On this, he places a sword in its hand and orders it to its destination, even if the victim may be hundreds of miles away from the place. The performer himself is said to run a risk, for if the *Pilli* find that it is not able to attack the victim owing to precautionary measures taken by him by the use of an amulet or a counter-charm, the *Pilli* returns and

kills the originator. There are numerous stories current regarding such practices not only as village gossip, but such incidents are related in stories dating back several hundreds of years. There is such a story in the *Saddharmāṇkārā*, a prose Sinhalese work, an adaption of a Pali work *Rasavāhiṇi* written about the eighth century A.C. The story is worth repeating. A king's revenue officer made his periodical visit to a sea coast town for the collection of taxes. The advent of the revenue officer was heralded with much pomp. The streets and houses were decorated for his reception, and a special house prepared for his stay. He was received by the elders of the place and conducted in procession. On this occasion, while he was passing a certain street inhabited by wealthy traders, a lady of exceptional beauty attended by her maids was watching the procession from the terrace of her house. The revenue officer happened to notice her and was so infatuated with her beauty that he sent presents and a message to her inviting her to come to him. The lady indignantly refused the overtures and told the messenger that her employer was a foolish deluded man and that she was a married woman faithful to her husband who was away on a voyage. The revenue officer was not deterred by this message, but thought that, if he were able to get the husband killed, he may have a chance of marrying the woman. With this object, he called together expert magicians and asked them whether they could devise a charm by which this merchant who was on board his ship could be killed. One magician agreed. The revenue officer accompanied him to a cemetery where the magician selected a corpse and his incantations were so effective that he was able to make an evil demon take possession of the corpse. A sword was placed in the hands of the demon and he was ordered to proceed and destroy the merchant. People in the ship saw an evil one approaching them and they

were struck with terror. The merchant who kept himself self-possessed knew the method of averting such calamities. He was a religious man and he ordered all his men to join him in the meditation of universal goodwill. This acted as a counter-charm, and the demon turned back and returned to the magician. The magician sent him back three times, and three times he returned and on the last occasion the demon turned on the magician and the revenue officer and hacked them with the sword intended for their victim and killed them on the spot.

Another from of *Hūniyam* is to charm a thread or the stem of a creeper and make the victim step over it. The thread or the creeper is kept with the magician, and until it is destroyed the victim is believed to suffer in various ways.

There is also a charm, that is very often used by litigants to confuse the minds of witnesses. The name of the victim is written on pieces of palm leaf which are charmed and dropped in a vessel filled with water. At the time the witness is to give his evidence a person takes the vessel of water and starts shaking it. It is believed that as long as the process of disturbance is continued the mind of the victim gets disturbed, and he is prevented from giving coherent answers to questions put to him.

Another method of causing temporary inconvenience to one's enemies is to engrave the victim's name on a piece of charmed metal, and at any time desired the metal plate is put on the fire; as long as the metal is on fire the victim is said to suffer pain, and when the metal sheet is taken out of the fire and cooled, the victim recovers. The construction of a small image to represent a victim and the use of pins and needles at various points is largely resorted to, and there are a very large number of such devices. The following verses

from *Dhātu Sāntiya* ධාතුසාන්තිය repeated as a curative measure for ills caused by spells, give descriptions of a large number of such devices:—

- |     |  |                              |
|-----|--|------------------------------|
| 49. | පස් ඉටි අරගන රූපෙ තන<br>නමකුරු පිහිටා කටුද ගස<br>සොහොන් පොලේ පස් යට වලල<br>කේස දැන අන යට ඉගිලෙ         | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 50. | හොඩල අලේ ගෙන රූපෙ කප<br>පස්ලො වානේ කටුද ගස<br>සතර සන්ධිතුල රුද කර<br>උඹිදැන අණයට ඉගිලෙ                 | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 51. | දිවි සම් මුව සම් ගෙන විගසි<br>ජම්ම නැකන තම රුවද ලිය<br>ගසමින් විස කටු මතුර ලසි<br>දෙනත දැන අණයට ඉගි ලෙ | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 52. | ඉඹුල් ලිය ගෙණ රුවට ගෙල<br>දවස නැකන නවකුරු පිහිට<br>අකාර නවයට කටුද ගස<br>අකුදැන අණයට ඉගි ලෙ             | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 53. | කිකිළි බිජුද ගෙණ ඇස්ස ගස<br>ඉසකෙස් ඇදි වන තුල් දම<br>සියොගන සුමනැන ගෙඳිද නැගෙ<br>සිරොදැන අණයෙන් ඉගිලෙ  | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 54. | රැගෙණ එද කඩදසි වලි<br>තමරුව ඇද දිවි කැදලි දම<br>සියොගන සුමනැන ගෙඳිද ගැස<br>ගිවි ධාතු අණයෙන් ඉගිලෙ      | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 55. | පැහිරි ගෙඳි ගෙණ ඇස්ස ගස<br>ඉසකෙස් මුත්තා වැලිද දම<br>ගෝරු මඩි යට සිරකර මි<br>තබා දැන අණයට ඉගිලෙ        | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 56. | තම ගිය අඩියේ වැලි ගණිමි<br>මතුර දලුක් හිර කරවා ග<br>කැන නැන සියොගන කේදි වැටෙ<br>අභිධාතු අණයට ඉගිලෙ     | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |
| 57. | ගෙඩාල් කැරි තම රුවට ගෙල<br>සුංඛර අකාර අකුරු ලිය<br>නුඹස් අරණයේ මතුර දම<br>පරිධාතු අණයෙන් ඉගිලෙ         | ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ<br>ත්තේ |

58. සොහොන් අලුද වැළි අතුරුද ග න්නේ  
තනා රූප විසකටුද ගස න්නේ  
ඇඟපත ගිණිපල් රුදු කර න්නේ  
පාත්‍රාධාතු අණයෙන් ඉගිලේ න්නේ
59. ඉතුරු අලේ තම රූපෙ කප න්නේ  
සිදුරු නැතුව විසකටුද එල න්නේ  
මතුර දපා ගස් අරණේ දම න්නේ  
ශරී ධාතු අණයෙන් ඉගිලේ න්නේ
60. සපදස වෙසියා ගෙණ තීර කර ති  
නියපොතු ඉසකකස් බෙල්ලට කව ති  
දූපකර කුරු පහරේ යට කර ති  
බුදුරැස් මාලාවෙන් උගුලු ව ති
61. කපමින් නොල බෝ අලයෙන් රූ යා  
ගසමින් විසකටු දූපකර සිට යා  
සියොගත සැමතැන ගිණි විහි දේ යා  
රුවන් පිරිත යෙන් කටු ඉගි ලේ යා
62. කලු හබරල පත රූපෙ අදි න්නේ  
දූපකර අකුලා දිගේ දම න්නේ  
සියොගත කසමින් බිබිලි ගැසෙ න්නේ  
මිනිකත දූපතේ එමින තස න්නේ
63. සොහොන් කබලෙ පස් ඉටි උණුකර ති  
තනා රුවට පස් කටුගෙණ ගස ති  
පස්කටු දරගෙණ ගිණිගම් කර ති  
දෙවොල් පෙතලි අණ අදහිට දුරල ති
64. නවමැටි අරගණ රූපෙ තන ති  
තනා රුවට පස් කටුගෙණ ගස ති  
සෂ්ප සෂ්ප තුළ වාදන් බසි ති  
පිණිණි දූපතයෙන් තීරකටු ඇද ති
65. දෙති තුන දූපකර කටුද ගස න්නේ  
තම තම ලියමින් කටුද ගස න්නේ  
ඉතින් පහල සියොගත වන වෙ න්නේ  
පත්තිනි දූපතෙන් එමින බසි න්නේ

49. An image is made with five kinds of bees' wax, and after inscribing nine evil letters, a charmed needle is put through the image and buried in a cemetery.

50. An image is made of the root of *Hondala* (*Modacca, palmata yam*), and needles made of five kinds of metal are inserted.

51. A piece of skin of a leopard or deer is taken. An image is drawn and the name of the Nekat (constellation) under which the victim is born, is written and charmed needles are inserted through it.

52. An image is hewn of Imbul (*Eriodendron Anfractuosum* D.C.) stem, the names of the day, and the constellation under which the victim is born, are written as well as nine evil letters, and needles are inserted through these.

53. An egg is taken and after chipping it at the top some hair and a thread from a cloth worn by the victim is put in and charmed.

54. The image is drawn on a leaf and placed in a nest of red ants.

55. A fruit of *Citrus limetta* is taken and after chipping the top; hair, urine and sand are charmed and put inside and the fruit is buried in mud.

56. Sand from the footstep of the victim is taken and charmed, and placed inside the stem of Daluk. (*Euphorbia, antiquoran.* 2).

57. A brick is shaped like an image, evil letters are inscribed and thrown into an ant-hill in the jungle.

58. Ash, charcoal and sand from a place of cremation are taken and shaped into an image, and charmed needles inserted.

59. An image is made from the root of ginger (*Zingiber officinale*: Rox) and needles inserted all round, charmed and thrown in a forest.

60. The cast skin of a serpent is taken and human nails and hair are stuffed into its neck charmed and buried in a bypath.

61. An image is made from the root of Tolabo (*Crinum asiaticum* 2) and charmed needles are inserted.

62. An image is drawn on the leaf of kaluhabarala (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), charmed and rolled, and thrown in water.

63. Five kinds of bees' wax are melted in a skull, an image is made and needles inserted, and then heated in a fire made of the dry wood of five varieties of Citrus.

64. An image is made of fine clay and nine charmed needles are inserted.

65. Three lime fruits are charmed, the name of the victim written and needles inserted, etc.

It is stated that there are four thousand four hundred and seventy forms of evil spells practised by ill-disposed, cruel individuals to bring disaster on human beings.

The belief in the existence of these evils naturally gave rise to a class of charms and ceremonies through which the evil effects are counteracted. These counter-acting charms are of two kinds, first curative, second curative and revengeful. In the last case, not only is the victim cured of the ill effects, but also the person who is responsible for causing the spell is injured in return.

I give below two verses out of a large number of charms and verses to indicate the nature of the belief in being able to return evil for evil.

8. උඩින් වඩින ඉරසඳු දෙවියන් බලසෙ	න්
බිමින් වඩින මිනිසුන් ආදර හති	න්
ඇසින් තරු දමා කළවුන් එලාගති	න්
ඉතින් යකුන් පලයන් පෙරලා කැපුවෙ	න්

15. ගවයින් උගේ සිටිනා තැන් බලා	ගන්
ලමයින් උගේ යන එන තැන් බලා	ගන්
යහමින් උගේ වරිගේ මුලම කා	ගන්
පෙරලා මෙතන කැපුවෙමි එතනට පල	යන්

8. Through the powers of the gods Sun and Moon above and the grace of the goddess of Earth who is below  
Lay the perpetrators of this evil by dazzling them  
Quit ye the evil one for I have severed the spell  
which will return to the doer.

15. Mark where the fellow's cattle are

Mark where his children go

Destroy his whole clan

I have severed the spell here and return ye to the evil doer.

The practice of counteracting and curative charms are naturally general and widely distributed, and the ceremonies are so numerous and varied that they will to be described separately. In the meantime, it may be briefly noted that these curative methods consist of charms, incantations, dances, the cutting of charmed lime fruits, creepers, roots, coconuts, pineapple and pumpkin and the giving of medicines after certain incantations. In the incantations, very often religious ideals are mentioned. A specimen of such a verse is quoted below :—

තුන් ලොව් සතනට අමාරසය දෙන ගෞතම මුනි වඩි	නෙයි
ලන්කර බුදුව ආසින ගණනක් දුග්ගම ඵගුරු වෙ	නෙයි
පින්කල මුනිඳුගෙ දහම් ගුණෙන් මෙම සතුන්ට ගිණි හරී	නෙයි
මින් සන් අභියට කලවින බන්දන ඵමුන අතින් කප	නෙයි

The Lord Gautama Muni arrived to give success to the three worlds

He attained enlightenment and for aeons became the teacher of the good message

Through the virtue of the words of the meritorious Teacher I send fire to these demons.

And I sever all evil spells in the name of the Great Teacher.



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 8th, 1926.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera, M.L.C., in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Muda-  
liyar,,, A. Mendis Gunasekara,  
MudaliyarMr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.  
Honorary Secretaries.*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 14th June, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society, *viz.*, Messrs. Norman Kaikshushru Choksy, D. S. Jayasinha, Philip C. R. Jayasuriya, M.R.A.S., Alexander Perera Jayasuriya, Don Charles Rajakaruna Gunawardhana, B.A., C.C.S., Garrett Champness Mendis, Don Simon Alfred Samaranayaka, Wijayamuni Douglas de Zoysa, J. D. Dharmasena and Revd. Jinawarawansa M. Jinananda Bhikku.

3. A letter dated 22nd September, 1926, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding the compilation of Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language, and a letter from the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka on the same subject were tabled.

It was resolved to inform Government that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka had been invited to accept the position of Editor-in-chief and Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar, and Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, had consented to be editors. The programme proposals put forward by the Hon. Mr. Jayatilaka were adopted, and together with the estimate of the cost of the work during the first year.

It was further resolved to inform Government that some additional funds might be required to purchase certain collections of words. The cost could not be stated at present but was not likely to be large. The question of the composition of the Committee of Management was considered and it was decided that the following should be invited to serve :—

Mr. L. J. B. Turner (Chairman), Prof R. Marrs, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Dr S. C. Paul, Mr. C. H. Collins, and Mr. A. N. Weinman (Secretary).

4. A letter dated August 20, 1926, from the Secretaries, Fourth All-India Oriental Conference, Allahabad, inviting delegates from the Society was read.

Resolved that the Secretaries of the Conference be thanked for the invitation and that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana represent the Society at the Conference.

5. The report of the sub-committee appointed to consider the Paper entitled "The Log Book of Admiral Baillie de Suffren, 1781-1784" by Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S., was tabled.

6. A letter dated 11th June, 1926, forwarding four parts of the Sinhalese magazine entitled "Vidyodaya," from the Principal, Vidyodaya Oriental College, Maligakanda, requesting an exchange with the Journal of the Society, was tabled.

Resolved that the Nayaka Thero be thanked for the four parts of the magazine and be informed that the Council regrets their inability to comply with his request.

7. A letter from Mr. Leslie de Saram, relating to the discovery by Dr. P. E. Pieris of a translation into English of Valentyn's "Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien" was read.

It was resolved first to ascertain whether other translations into English are not available.

8. The date and business for the next General Meeting was left in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 1st, 1926.*

## Present :

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.)  
Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka	Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva	Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Muda- liyar	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
	Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.

*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 8th October, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The Secretary stated that Government had voted the necessary money to start the work on the Dictionary from January 1st, 1927.

Resolved that as requested by Government a report to Government *re* progress of Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary be made half yearly by the Managing Committee through the Council of the Society.

3. A sub-committee consisting of Mr. L. J. B. Turner, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. C. H. Collins to consider offers of papers for reading at meetings of the R. A. S. made by members of the Society and a draft programme of meetings was appointed.

4. The following gentlemen were duly elected as members of the Society, viz.—Messrs. Andrew Boyd and J. R. G. Bantock,

5. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka who represented the Society at the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference gave an account of the proceedings and he was requested to write a short note on the subject for the Journal.

*Extracts from the Dag-Registers of Batavia.  
Translated and compiled by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos,  
Barrister-at-law.*

*Contd. from Vol. XXX No. 78, 1925.*

**AO. 1642—TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND  
COUNCIL.**

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**DAG-REGISTER Ao. 1643—1644.**

Published by the  
DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

Under the Supervision of

**Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER.**

*Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1902).*

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**PREFACE.**

All the parts of the split-up Dag-register for the years 1643-1644 have not come down to us but what has been preserved forms an interesting portion. I have put it together from the Indian Letters and papers of the Chamber Amsterdam sent to Holland (pp. 88-110) from the already mentioned source at Karlsruhe and the Sweers-collection at the *Ryksarchief*. As will be seen, of the five parts into which the work was divided by virtue of the Resolution of 1st February 1642, three have been preserved in their entirety: the accounts *re* Surat-Hindostan, Ceylon-Goa, and Coromandel.....

At first it escaped my attention that in the aforesaid Sweers-collection a part of the account Ceylon-Goa is twice copied. In the copy made for the printer some attached documents were not copied. The care of my assistant in the publication of this work, Mr. W. G. van Oyen, Adjunct Commies, *Ryksarchief*, has placed me in a position to take these interesting documents from the other copy (they are not in the Archives of the East India Company) and to place them at the end of the text.

\* \* \* \*

Statement of the parts compressed in the now published text.

Account from the despatches from Ceylon (1643-1644) pages 205-212, 221-225, 229-236, 237-238, 242, 307-310.

I also think it well to refer to the documents incorporated with the text some of which, so far as I am aware, are nowhere to be found in the archives of the Company.

\* \* \* \*

Protest of Pieter Boreel to Don Phillippo de Mascarenhas at Colombo 22nd February, 1643, p. 208. Contra protest from de Mascarenhas to Boreel 26th February, 1643, p. 210.

\* \* \* \*

Letter of Raja Singa to Joan Thyssen, 23rd March, 1644, p. 307,

Letter from the same to the same, 4th April, 1644 p. 309.

H. T. Colenbrander.

\* \* \* \*

### 12th January 1644.

There arrive in the afternoon.....also a Portuguese *navet* "Nossa Sra de Concepção de St. Bernardo," 100 lasts burden, which coming from Macao to Goa, and passing Malacca, ignorant of the interruption of the Treaty, was held up by Governor Jeremias van Vleet.....

\* \* \* \*

### 13th January 1644.

The ship "Leeuwarden" hove in sight and the commissioners sailed to the Portuguese *navet* to get the aforesaid fidalgos on board..... Coming ashore they were admitted to audience by the Governor-General and Council ..... who expressed regret that the relations between them and the Viceroy of Goa were such that the Governor of Malacca was obliged to give orders to stop their voyage. The Viceroy only was to blame as he had refused to surrender the lands under Crux de Gale which belonged to us by the Treaty..... Whereupon the retired General Domingo de Lamara replied that the differences between us and the Viceroy over the jurisdiction of Gale was no reason, as they had no knowledge how they arose.

**3rd March 1644.**

There come news from Commander Claas Cornelisz Bloc from the Bay of Goa under Date 13th November that it was reported that the Portuguese had obtained reinforcements of from 5-600 men of whom 300 were sent to Ceylon.

News was received at Coromandel that the Portuguese Governor of Sant Thome had received letters that Heer François Caron had appeared before Colombo with 11 ships but could not effect a landing as a large body of Portuguese had followed him all along the coast, so that leaving as if he desired to sail to Galle with the whole fleet, at night turned back and unexpectedly landed close to Negombo, and the Portuguese, being cut off from the city, were defeated, 400 being killed and Negombo at once taken ; and that our force had straightway marched on to Colombo to attack that city. God grant that this is true and that Colombo was afterwards brought under our power !

\* \* \* \*

**11th April 1644.**

At night there arrives the Resident Jarich from Bantam bringing news. . . . . that the Fortress of Negombo in Ceylon was taken by storm, 300 Portuguese killed and about 150 taken prisoners.

About midday there arrived the (English) *jacht* "de Goede Hoop" in the Bay bringing letters from Heer François Caron, dated 15th February, stating that having landed at Galle with his whole force on the 20th December last, he had marched to a certain place close by where the enemy had established themselves with the hope of driving them from there, to make the district of Galle safe for us ; but having arrived at the place, found it so inaccessible and such an advantageous position to the Portuguese, who were there in occupation with 540 men, that it was not thought prudent to attempt to take it, and returned, without accomplishing anything, to Galle, where having embarked the whole force and sailed together to Colombo, he intended to take that place by force, which also could not be done, on account of the unsuitability of the coast and the rough sea preventing landing of the men there, especially the guns, at least so long

as the enemy followed us all along the shore. So that finally it was decided to proceed to Negombo and to capture the fortress and to march from there by land to Colombo, which happened on the 9th January, for which praise the Almighty for ever. As we approached the fortress the enemy had divided its force of 700 men into 22 sections before forming up in battle array, which we, after two hours fighting, defeated and at the same time captured the fortress pressing the fleeing Portuguese within the gates. And there fell in the said battle on the Portuguese side 300 men and 150 were taken prisoners. On our side there fell in action 52 persons, among them 4 lieutenants, same number of ensigns, and there were about 140 wounded. Negombo having been conquered in manner aforesaid and affairs there being a little arranged, His Honour, after some days, marched by land with his whole force to Colombo, but being checked by the enemy at the river of Moetewael about  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour's distance from the city, after waiting there for six days broke camp and returned to Negombo converting the said fortress into a royal stronghold sufficient to withstand a tolerable force, as will be particularly seen in the detailed account given.

In celebration of this victory a thanksgiving service was held in the evening in the big church (Batavia) on the orders of the Governor General, by the Predikant Abraham Fireth, and thereafter the bells were rung three times and volleys in the castle and round the city were fired and answered and the Councillors of India and their wives remained with the Governor-General being entertained by him.

\* \* \* \*

*17th April, 1644.*

There arrives Heer François Caron with the ships "Fredrick Hendricq," "Wesel," "Snoecq," and "Grol," with the Sergeant-major Willem van der Beecq and skipper Wybrandsen from the Island of Ceylon, having put the fortress of Negombo in a good state of defence being garrisoned with 500 brave soldiers under the command of the opperkoopman Pieter Vinceboons and the Captain..... Syms. On his departure His Honour anchored opposite

Colombo with the intention of exchanging some of our imprisoned taken at Billigam for some of their prisoners. Don Philipppo was agreeable to this, but our people had all taken service with the enemy and did not want to be released.

For the defence of Negombo by sea the *jachts* "Wingurla" and "Zutphen" remained there..... The *jachts* "Santvoort" and "Defshaven" remained beyond Galle.

\* \* \* \*

### 22nd April 1644.

A little after the Portuguese.....were admitted to audience by the Governor-General..... The aforesaid Portuguese having left, there landed the prisoners brought with the ships from Ceylon by Heer Caron, 105 men, among them 3 Captains, young men, and some subordinate officers. The Governor-General quartered them all in the Hospital here giving them ordinary soldiers' rations.

\* \* \* \*

### 11th May 1644.

There arrive the *jacht* "Arent" from the coast of India with letters from the Commandeur Claas Blocq, opposite Goa, stating that the *jacht* "Arent" was passing Negombo in Ceylon, where the *jachts* "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla" had tied together and brought in 5 to 6 Portuguese *champan*s carrying rice and other provisions from Choromandel to Colombo: that this came in handy to us and apparently would create a scarcity of provisions with the enemy, who, to take revenge and to prevent such occurrence, sent a fleet of rowing vessels after the aforesaid *jachts*, with, so it seemed, the intention of capturing them or causing them to sail away. But they had with God's help so courageously and manfully repulsed them, that not only was the said fleet defeated but a part of it destroyed and a galley sunk. All which was done by the *jacht* "Wingurla," the "Zutphen" not being able to come to her assistance in time. Wherefore it was resolved by the Governor-General and Council to present on behalf of the Company, the skipper of the aforesaid *jacht* "Wingurla" with a gold chain to



encourage him and others to such valorous deeds. The curious reader can see particulars of these things in the special reports on the same.

\* \* \* \*

### 18th May 1644.

In the afternoon the chaloup returns bringing letters .....from the President Jan Thyssen from Galle and the opperkoopman Vinckbooms from Negombo.....

\* \* \* \*

### 21st May 1644.

In the afternoon there arrive the *jachts* "Delfshaven" and the ship "de Hasewint" from the Bay of Goa *via* Ceylon with 12570 lbs cinnamon consisting of 290 packages, among them 186 from Raja Singa, the rest taken at Negombo.

\* \* \* \*

### 27th September 1643.

On the 27th September there appeared "de Hasewint" .....bringing letters from the Commissaris Boreel dated 24th April stating that the Viceroy at Goa had, contrary to expectation and reason, refused us the lands to which we were entitled and had broken the treaty, etc.

\* \* \* \*

### 8th February 1643.

The *jachts* "Leeuwerk" and "Limmen" sent by Commissaris Boreel from Galle arrived with the long expected ratification of the treaty which was published at Batavia on the —October 1642.

The letter of Heer Boreel says that the treaty had not yet been published by him in Ceylon as Don Philippo had unlawfully, denied their right according to the treaty to the dependencies of Galle, and was rejecting their claim..... The Viceroy had sent six fidalgos and two courteous letters to obtain the release of the *jacht* "Clein Reynsburch" saying that the same did not rightly belong to us as it was captured after the publication of the treaty.

On the same day there arrived at the port of Batavia the *jacht* "de Sterre" sent on the 17th March by the

president Jan Thyssen of St. Cruz de Gala. He says in his letter that on the 14th October Sr. Lourenso Fereira de Britto, who had been before this Captain of Galle and our prisoner, came there with a letter from Don Philipppo in which the publication of the treaty and maintenance of the same were sought and with the articles of the treaty ratified and exchanged by His Majesty, and as, according to the second article, the mutual ratification of it was not found therein, he refused to accept it and it was put off for the further orders of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India. The aforesaid de Britto had the audacity to pretend that they (Portuguese) were always the most powerful in the field, that we possessed no lands at Galle, that the Portuguese, according to the usages of war with the sword, were masters up to the walls of the Fort (without any reference to us) and that we were therefore under their jurisdiction. Who ever heard such a strange and unfounded proposition?

\* \* \* \*

### 7th November 1642.

The *jacht* "de Sterre" arrived at Galle on the 7th November from Pulicat with two captured Portuguese champans. Pieter Boreel, the Commissaris, with the ships "Banda," "Delfshaven," "Leeuwerck," and "de Paauw," landed there on the 1st February with the Portuguese treaty mutually ratified. For this purpose he sent the opperkoopman Marten Vinck on the 5th with the ship "Roemerswall" to Colombo to Philipppo d' Mascarenhas to notify the treaty to him. If he accepted it as binding, his army, which since the 20th September was occupying a good position two miles outside Galle, should retire to his own ground, which he could not see his way to do. Whereupon Heer Boreel protested against Don Philipppo Mascarinhas in writing which writing he sent to Colombo on the 23rd February, and before his departure for Goa had received no answer to the same. On the 3rd March there appeared at Galle before the President Jan Thyssen two ambassadors by name ColumboNeynde and Aripali Neynde on behalf of the Kandyan King with letters to Heer Boreel which were sent to him the next day by the ship "Roemerswall." It seemed that His Majesty would

willingly be included in the treaty if the lands of Kalutara river were made subject to him. On the 9th March there was brought by Ignatio Sarmento Carvalhe, Portuguese, to Jan Thyssen on the orders of Heer Boreel the counter-protest and answer of Don Philipppo which will be referred to at length hereafter. His Honour had ordered us to cease hostilities in Ceylon till further orders from Goa. Notwithstanding this the Portuguese still kept to their unjust order that no native should furnish us any supplies. If a coconut was sold to us the seller had to give by way of penalty four fowls to the adigar ; if it was a head of cattle they threatened the villagers to cut not only their ears and noses but also to punish them with death. This was unbearable and seemed should be redressed with force, as beri-beri, dropsy and other diseases were very much on the increase at Galle and in a garrison of 612 men there were 59 sick. Don Philipppo had deceived himself that he would not grant an inch of land to us in Ceylon but would buy Galle for a reasonable price, ridiculous reports, which made the blood of the Dutch there boil and embittered them against the Portuguese, and that at that time although it was only 20 companies strong of white troops, they could revenge themselves for all this insult and ridicule. It was sought for this purpose a reasonable force with one or two mortars with their accessories to be used against the enemy together with 20 to 25 copper kettles to boil rice in.

The king Raja Singa's brother Visia Palang was, having been sometime in close confinement, taken by the Portuguese to Goa, with the intention of making him a Christian and getting him to make a will, in order by that means to become lawful heirs to his lands. Don Philipppo gave out that about May he expected great reinforcements from Goa. The assistant Nicolaas Hosteyn died at the Kandyan court on the 19th October. Raja Singa had sent the property left by him to the koopman Maerschallck at Batecalo. He also desired another fit person versed in the Portuguese language, which appeared unreasonable as Raja considered these persons as his own, which could be inferred from the refusal of the deserted sergeant and the sending up of the

drummer. The captain major of the Portuguese army by name Anthonio da Motta Galvao had agreed to give us 100 buffaloes against payment, but instead of these he sent us only six lean ones which were returned to him, and afterwards eleven others were sent with some frivolous excuse. Don Philippo appeared, to our regret, to have granted the village Biligam, which did not belong to him, to Ignatio Sarmento Cravalhe, to derive some profit and maintenance therefrom. He gave out that he had bought the city of Galle from the Dutch for a certain price and that, therefore, some of the inhabitants had been delivered over to them to be punished, and that the rest would be sent by us as slaves to Batavia and such like intolerable falsehoods. Raja Singa had again, as a bait, sent a gold chain and gold hat-band and some cystal to the President Joan Thyssen as a present.

To-day we were informed by letter dated 25th February from Galle from the Commissaris Pieter Boreel and other papers brought here by the aforesaid "Kleyn Reynsburch," that His Honour, as before stated, had arrived at Galle with his fleet on the 1st February. Afterwards, on the 3rd, he had sent to the camp of Anthonio da Motta Galvaon the mutually ratified articles of the treaty for 10 years between Don Joan, the Fourth, King of Portugal, and the States General of the United Netherlands. Thereupon, the next day, captain Pedro Teria, on behalf of the said captain-major, appeared before Heer Boreel who gave him notice that they should, with all their people, quit our lands and give us possession thereof. But he and Don Phillippo and many other Portuguese were of opinion that Galle was only an *aldeia* or village without a foot of jurisdiction outside its walls, and, in like manner, all the lands had been devised to His Majesty of Portugal by the King of Cotta, Joam Periampandaer, as he had no heirs, and that therefore Don Joan became Emperor of the whole island. Also that we could have no claim to the lands seeing that, since the conquest of Galle, we were under the rule and slavery (as falsely stated by them) of Raja Singa's dissave, and such like unfounded and windy talk, imagining that now they have a King of their nationality, there was nobody like them, and now stronger

than before under the rule of Spain. The aforesaid Heer Boreel noticing the aforesaid unfounded claims of the Portuguese sent on the 22nd February, with his letters of justification of our well-founded claim, the following protest to Don Philippo Mascarinhas, General of Colombo:—According to the orders dated 22nd February and 15th March 1642 of Their Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, written to the Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen, residing at Batavia. was not only, on the 7th October following, the armistice between the Crown of Portugal and Their High Mightinesses published, not only in the Fort and City but also on the ships in the port of Batavia, to be observed and caused to be observed here, but also on the special directions of Their High Mightinesses, I was commissioned by the Governor-General and Council of India to notify in writing the treaty and ratification of the 10 year's armistice to the Portuguese residing in the places of our district to be observed by hem.

The armistice was published on my orders at Malacca on the 5th December 1642. When I arrived at the Fort of Galle, 1st February 1643, I intended publishing the armistice there, not doubting that it would have been ratified there, understanding from the President Jan Thyssen and Council there that the ratification was sent there by the most serene Jan the Fourth of Portugal on October last only, which could not be accepted as it had not been previously sent to Holland, which was essential according to the 2nd article.

Further after your notification, the Portuguese and other nations, being soldiers under your rule, were not removed but are to this day on our lands. I therefore thought fit to send to you the opperkoopman Sr. Martin Vinck with the treaty and ratification of our respective sovereigns relating to the 10 years truce, also the publication thereof at Batavia, and thus the treaty and ratification were considered good and binding, so that your Honour should at once be pleased to order the soldiers under your command to quit our lands which they were then occupying, and yield them and the neighbouring lands up to us, which, if you had

done, would have induced a willingness on our part to publish the treaty at Galle.

But your letter to Marten Vinck in answer to mine clearly shows that you are not disposed to take your soldiers from our lands and to give us possession of the same which were won by the sword and hypothecated to us. Your Honour cannot claim that we have no forts therein. Nor could you insist that we have no jurisdiction outside the walls of Galle. Your Honour's people denied that we had, for after I announced to Captain-Major Anthony de Motta Galvaon at the camp in the Galle corle, two companies were stationed at Cogele, at Vacquel some lascoreens, and at Gindure the road was shut up with poles to prevent free ingress into the lands of our people coming from Gale, and they were threatened with death by your soldiers, stating that they had express orders thereto by you if they passed the camp landwards without passes from the Captain-Major Anthony de Motta. And by this the treaty was broken by the Portuguese according to article 12. So I protest to you Don Philippo Mascarenhe, General of Colombo, against this injustice.

I shall go to Goa to personally arrange with the Viceroy the affairs of Ceylon.

Done at Galle 22nd February, 1643.

(Signed) P. Boreel

\* \* \* \*

On the 1st March Sr. Laurencio Ferrera, on behalf of Don Philippo de Mascarenhas arrived in a boat about 4 miles from Galle bringing a letter of contra-protest to Heer Boreel to the following effect :—Your protest, to which this is an answer, is unjust. You seem rather to seek war than peace

.....

(Signed) Philippo Mascarenhas

Colombo, 26th February, 1643.

\* \* \* \*

Heer Boreel, on the 2nd March, from the ship "Banda" lying at anchor close to Madampe, replied to Don Philippo Mascarenhas sending the letter by Sr. Lourenso Ferrera....

On the 5th March he met the ship "Romerswal" sent by Jan Thyssen to him with two ambassadors from Raja Singa. His Honour (Thyssen) also sent two letters from His Majesty with a gold chain adorned with a medal, a medal to be worn on the hat and a belt of corded gold as presents. His Majesty desired that Jaffnapatnam, Setta Corles, Quartre Corles, etc., should be granted free to him from the Portuguese when he would be prepared to enter into the treaty. He thanked Heer Boreel for the good attention paid to the two Queens sent to His Majesty by Chinana of Pulicat with the ambassador, and sent to Baticalo at their request from Galle in one of our ships.

On the 29th June their arrived at the port of Batavia the ship "Reynsburch" bringing letters from the Commissaris Boreel of date 29th April, in which he relates that he was entertained by the Viceroy (Goa). . . . . After he had presented the letter of the Governor-General and his commission, the following were delegated to treat him with full authority, Anthonio de Faria Machado, 1st inquisitor of the Holy Office and chief councillor of state, Andre Salema, Controller-general of the state and councillor of state, and Joseph de Chaves sub-major, secretary of state and councillor. The deputies and Viceroy were of Don Philippo's unfounded opinion, that Ceylon was in the year 1580 by the King of Cota Juaon Perepandar, who died a Christian and without heirs, devised to Hendrik the last King of Portugal so that none but themselves (Portuguese) were entitled thereto; that Raja Singa an infidel King does not figure in the treaty as he is an intruder and tyrannical King without any right to hypothecate the island etc., as appears fully from their protest dated Goa 21st April 1643.

Visiapalla, Raja Singa's brother, who was confined in a Franciscan monastery, had, on Boreel's arrival at court (Goa), requested the Viceroy to be allowed to be present, which was refused. Robert Wems, one of our riflemen, who had deserted to the Portuguese was again taken unto the Company's service by Heer Boreel on the promise that he would not be punished. On the 22nd Boreel took leave of the Viceroy.

Contra-protest by the Commissaris Boreel to the Deputies of the Viceroy. The protest of the 21st April read at Goa is full of lies. We sought free possession of the whole of Saffragam. . . . . Hereupon Sr. Antonio de Faria Machado answered that the promise of Raja Singa was of an infidel not of a believer.—An intruder King and tyrant can grant no rights, so say the deputies; but he is not an intruder for his mother was Dona Cattarina brought by the General Pero Lopes de Sousa from Manaar to Kandy in the year 1590 and declared by his very mouth as the only empress and rightful heir to the throne of Ceylon. She married there first Don Joan of Austria thereafter Cennerat Adassyn who was the present Raja Singa's father. His father and he have always been in possession of this Kingdom.

You say that we (Dutch) are to be abominated for having dealings with him (Raja Singa). You have assisted him in 1607 with your whole force against Madune and Antonio Baretto, prince of Uva, who wanted to expel Cennerat Adassyn from the country. Can you at one time have dealings with a King whose forefathers have since 1590 been in uninterrupted possession of Kandy and with whom our nation has had dealings since 1602, and now forbid us from doing the same? . . . . . Done on board the ship "Banda" lying at the port of Goa the 25th April 1643.

(Signed) Boreel.

\* \* \* \*

On 4th July there arrived the ship "t Vliegende Hart" with letters from President Joan Thyssen of the 21st May. . . . informing us that the ships "Delfshaven," "Welsingen," "Cleyen Sutphen" and "t Vliegende Hart" had appeared at the port of Galle with the opperkoopman Marten Vinck who stated that Heer Boreel could arrange nothing at Goa. Whereupon Jan Thyssen and Council resolved to send a company of 300 picked soldiers, the dissave, and some lascoreens, under the command of Captains Paulas Doncq and Joan van der Laan as the enemy intended to fortify themselves at Belligam. He heard at the same time that 400 soldiers were on their way from Colombo to Matara as reinforcements,



which he could hardly believe. He therefore thought it inadvisable to leave Belligam and for greater security sent the "Cleyu Sutphen" there with provisions. The onderkoopman, Jochem Assenburg, having arrived there with the said ship, announced to the said Captains the intention of the President. But these Captains being instigated by the King's dissave and other blacks or natives that they were to cut off the expected succours, left Belligam contrary to orders and marched the night through pathless morasses four miles landwards to Acuiras when they arrived early in the morning very tired and wet, having had a nine hours sharp encounter with the enemy. And as the Portuguese were well under cover in the jungle we were vanquished and 80 Dutchmen killed and taken prisoners and all the officers, with about 70 wounded, retired in confusion and fled, most of them without arms, to the "Cleyu Sutphen" in the bay of Belligam. If our people had been pursued by the enemy only a few would have escaped, the more so as the rascally natives, who before appeared to be favourably disposed towards us, appeared then as enemies by night to cut off the heads of some of our tired and sodden wounded, to be in more favour with the Portuguese.

By this unexpected non-observance of orders we lost ground not only east of Galle as far as d'Equel 14 miles further but also much territory to the west of Galle, from which place some cinnamon-peelers had already come to our great loss and shame. For which reason the President and his Council resolved to send Captain Paulus Doneq, who was in command of the advance guard, with the "Vhegende Hart" to the Governor-General there to answer for his rash act. Captain van der Laen remained till his wounds were healed to be sent here (Batavia) for the same purpose. Heer Jan Thyssen appeared to be disposed, if out of this garrison of 550 men there remained 250 sound men, to get back Belligam for our people, but the least he could spare from the "Cleyu Sutphen" (which could not come out of the bay of Belligam) as a convoy to the wounded were 150 men. According to reports the enemy also suffered considerable damage and took 36 of our soldiers as prisoners. So Don Philippo's brother,

Antonio de Mascarenhas, threatened to march from his camp at Manicareware to Galle, which apparently ended in smoke. Therefore the President sought reinforcements and succours in men, munitions and provisions to end the war in Ceylon, which God grant. On the 28th August there arrived the ship "Wingurla" with letters from Heer Boreel from which it was learnt that His Honour arrived at Baticalo on the 8th June. Finding there nothing ready for delivery by His Majesty of what he had promised, Heer Boreel on the 9th wrote to Raja Singa and received an answer on the 29th by two deputies who had come with much windy talk. Whereupon the Commissaris Boreel was obliged, after much waiting, to send the opperkoopman Pieter Paets on the 3rd June to Samandura, 7 miles from Baticalo to receive the goods, which consisted only of 2790 lbs. wax and 2100 lbs. pepper; and this after one month's waiting and at the highest price. According to Raja Singa's advice in his letter of the 19th May there were at Cattiarum 20 elephants (*alias* as well as tuskers) sent for the Company and to be received by it, but when on the 11th July Heer Boreel arrived there, the false rumour ended in smoke.

Raja Singa had again endeavoured to send some ambassadors with a large retinue to Batavia with his needless letters, which was refused for good reasons by the Commissaris. His Majesty had sent him (Commissaris) a copy of a letter written to him by the Portuguese Anthonio de Lima from Colombo from which it appeared how the Portuguese were defaming our people and that Raja Singa was desirous of being included in the treaty.

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### 27th September 1643.

On the 27th September there arrived the "Hasewint" ..... with a letter from the President Jan Thyssen, addressed here on the 25th June from Galle, intimating that since his last letter nothing much had taken place there except that Don Philipppo, in view that the Kings were at peace with Don Joan the Fourth, had liberated all the French and English prisoners among the 36 Dutch prisoners, given them a month's pay and had allowed them leave to go to

Portugal whilst he detained the Dutch. And the said Philipppo had at Colombo caused a general mobilisation of all able-bodied men to proceed to Malvane and from there to Manicareware, his intention being unknown. The river a mile from Belligam to Galle had stakes driven into it by them so that it could not be crossed except in small boats. Our garrison at Galle consisted of 525 men among them 200 sick and wounded, so that, without further success it was not advisable here to attempt anything against the enemy. The President Jan Thyssen seeks in a private letter to the Governor-General to be retired from service by September. On the 24th October, there arrived in the *jacht* "Limmen" from Galle, Captain Jan van der Laan to answer his charge of misconduct at Acuiras. On the 20th November there was received by the "Banda" a letter from the President Jan Thyssen dated Galle 6th September, stating that the ship "Sandtvoort" had unexpectedly arrived there with the "Heemstede" bringing the desired provisions, cash, ammunition, etc. The enemy had again left Acuiras with all their forces for Scimby about two miles from Galle, where they, according to them, expected Don Philipppo to meet them with a large force, they having with this in view cleared the paths, or perhaps this was done for purposes of a retreat. Five of our soldiers, French and Dutch, deserted to the enemy, the sixth, who wanted to do so, was caught and deservedly hanged on the gallows.

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### December 1643.

Don Philipppo tried, through the scoundrel of a deserter St. Aman to induce our soldiers to desert, promising to give them for Galle 4000 reals of eight, by shooting arrows with letters on to the flat space opposite the fort. They also endeavoured to poison our people by the sale of prepared tobacco, by reason of which a black man and woman, who came as deserters, were arrested, for which the man, as an example to others, had his hand nose and ears cut off and sent back to the enemy, in return for which they characteristically killed 30 of our innocent inhabitants who had gone out with passes to buy provisions, men women and children,

by which one can judge of their cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Many Sinhalese were, through the Almighty, visited with a pestilential sickness called *bisigis* (Port *bexigas*) and like small-pox. Two or three were afflicted with it but recovered. With the *jacht* "Delfshaven" 28 sick soldiers were sent to the coast to recuperate. Since last February, we had heard nothing from Raja Singa or the Kandyan court, so his intentions are unknown. With the arrival of the afore-said force, that is the safe and sound voyage of Heer Caron, the President Jan Thyssen had no reason to doubt good success. The predikant Joannes Starthemius arrived there in good health and it is hoped to do good service to God's Church and the congregation.

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#### April 1644.

On the 5th April, 1644 there were brought by the English *jacht* "d'Adviso" over Coromandel and Bantham letters of 13th November last written by the Commandeur Claes Cornelissen opposite the bay of Goa, mentioning that the opperkoopman Cornelis van Sanen had reported that 500 men were brought to Goa by the Portuguese, 300 of whom were sent to Ceylon and the rest distributed among the *craecquen* (boats)—These pretended that they had come to bring about an armistice according to the treaty, boasting that the Dutch did not own more than a radius of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles round about Galle and that they would remain in the possession of lands to which we were entitled, that we might commission someone to collect the profits of the lands until otherwise ordered from the Netherlands, that they should be allowed to enjoy free navigation to Portugal, before the "Paauw," with its cargo of silk, which was unjustly seized, would be released by them pretending that they would cause our fleet to evacuate from there, getting ready with that object in the bay the galleon St. Sacramento, two carakels, the *jacht* "de Paauw" and an oyster dredger, which all ended in smoke.....

After the Portuguese (Francisco Britto d'Almuida and Friar Gonsalvo de St. Josepho) and our Commissioners had discussed the treaty and settlement of the boundaries of the

lands of Ceylon and the release of the ship "de Paauw" and its cargo, and coming to no agreement on account of the pigheadedness of the Portuguese, the Commander Block and his Council sent a protest to Goa.

On the 11th April there arrived at this port (Batavia) the "d'Engelsche Hoopwel" with letters of the 15th February last written by François Caron and Council from the camp and conquered fort of Negombo, from which it was gathered that His Honour on the 30th September 1643 with a fleet of 9 ships, containing 1550 men, had left this port for Ceylon.....and, God be praised, arrived at the bay of Galle with 1400 men among them 300 sailors and 300 soldiers with the intention to surprise the enemy who had stationed themselves at Hakmine a mile and a half from Galle, with 540 men, and thus all the more easily to sail to Colombo with some hope of success. But after our men had got across many bad roads, morasses, jungles and rivers, they eventually arrived near their destination which they found to be inaccessible and marshy, with a small plot of raised ground in the centre, open towards the North of Colombo, so that our people on the 26th instant, returned to Galle and the Portuguese to Colombo. It was therefore resolved to sail on the 1st January 1644 with the whole force in the port of Galle, to Colombo, and afterwards to inspect close to the ramparts (Colombo) the coasts, bays, rocks, shallows, and rivers along the sea coast in a small boat with the President Jan Thyssen, the skipper-commandeur Reyndert Wybrants, Steeven Pietersen skipper, and the opperkoopman Vinckeboons, and being about a cannon shot on the south side of the city of Colombo, found no suitable place to land guns, artillery, etc., except the river of Pantura, four miles from Colombo, which also was not quite suitable on account of the breakers to land guns. Sailing northwards they found the Fort (Colombo) so well fortified, that they saw no chance of landing their troops, whereupon the general Caron resolved to sail with his fleet to Negombo, to strengthen that place and to march from there with his army close to Colombo.

**7th January**

On the evening of the 7th January His Honour appeared before Negombo with his fleet and anchored in 6 fathoms of water, where he learnt that the island Fernando Dabreu, situated close to Negombo, had been provided with batteries and trenches to prevent our people from landing. Wherefore it was thought advisable to land on the north side being the land side, making the necessary preparations on the 8th, that is to land all the force consisting of 1400 armed men divided under 9 standards and in 3 squadrons in mall vessels right close to shore in three fathoms water when a sign would be given at daylight. The advance guard was under the command of the President Jan Thyssen with the opperkoopman Vinckebooms and Captain Paulus Donck, the main body under General François Caron, the sergeant-major Joannes Burgers and Captain Hendrick Man, and the rear guard under the opperkoopman Marten Vinck, Captains Nicolaas Jacobsen Syms and Hendrick Hendricksz. Everything being thus arranged and the appointed signal being given with a lantern on the yard arm of the main yard hung up on the 9th., an hour before daylight, and the force with the 4 prince guns being landed in three distinct journeys on the north side of the fortress without resistance at 2 o'clock by day, they marched in order against the enemy's fort with the intention of encamping beyond cannon shot of Negombo and then of considering what was best or most advisable to be done. But the force was advanced too far and close to the enemy's position within musket shot by a certain zealous lieutenant or guide, when they were on their knees praying in the enclosure of the fort. They at once stood up crying "St. Jago" and made a furious attack on us who met them in battle array so far as the bush of creepers permitted. There were at the first encounter double volleys, the front rank firing their rifles from their knees and the rear rank standing, which caused considerable loss on both sides, and our party getting the upper hand, resolved to fall on them with muskets, spears and side arms, whereupon the Portuguese having lost heart, fled in confusion in all directions. In this encounter many were killed and our men suffered some injury

as far as the enclosure (pagger) where we were followed, where we found a gun, and we turned to the gate of the fort and opened the wicket, taking after that the bastions of Negombo and its defences in the space of two hours. The fire had reached the powder magazine which wiped out the square over the fort, the church, and other buildings without damage to us but to our great inconvenience. At the first encounter 81 Portuguese and 52 Dutchmen, among them the Lieutenants David Finexs, Pieter Timmerman, Joannes Hartman, Jan Brandenburg with the ensigns Jan Corsel, Gelely Cornelis, Balthazar Luiybeek, and Joan van Gulich were killed, besides 140 wounded, and the Portuguese who gave out that they were 700 strong, lost 300, 150 taken prisoners and the remaining 200, among them the traitor St. Aman, saved themselves by fleeing to Colombo. The chief Portuguese who fell at this engagement were Don Antonio Mascarenhas, brother of the Governor of Colombo, Don Philipppo, Don Anthonio de Motta Galvao, Captain-major, Diego de Mesquita, Captain of the Fort, with still other captains and unknown soldiers of the cross. In the same day of the battle Don Philipppo had gone from Colombo with 20 companies of soldiers to the relief of Negombo, but meeting the fugitives on the way who told them everything, returned to his quarters. We had three deserters with us and, as an example to others, they were hanged on the gallows.

One of our soldiers who undressed Don Anthonio d' Mascarinhas in the thick of the battle, found in his pocket the following resolution signed by him and Anthonio de Motta Galvao and 18 other Captains :—Don Antonio Mascarinhas and the Captain Major Anthonio da Motta Galvao, having submitted to the undersigned captains of the infantry what is best to be done under the circumstances for the service of His Majesty, whether the island called George Fernando Dabreu should be protected or whether they should check the advance of some of the Dutch companies who were said to have landed on the other side of the Fort of Negombo, the same having not been taken into consideration by the said captains, seeing that they did not know whether it was an invention (the landing) to cause us to quit the island which

we found most convenient, it was unanimously resolved not to quit the same but to remain there till the enemy's designs are rightly known, in order thereafter to do what would be most serviceable to His Majesty.

At bottom

In the Island this 9th January Ao 1644 and signed

Don Anthonio Mascarinhas

Anthonio de Motta Galvao

Anthonio Ferere de Masedo

Gil. Vaz Parere da Cunha

Heronimo Vieyra

Thomas Anthunes

Miguel de St. Amand

Manuel Lorenzo da Silva

Francisco Ferreira

Manuel del Gado

Joan de Siquera

Ruy Lopes Couty

Anthonio Cardosa

Gregorio Rebeira Machado.

Notwithstanding the resolution, Antonio de Motta Captain-major often had warned Don Antonio Mascarenhas with these words when our people were landing. "Your Excellency sees that the enemy has, according to their wish, brought a part of their force on land and some more will soon follow, let us go and disable them to prevent the rest from opposing us." Having repeated this two or three times he became excited and said "see what the enemy is doing, let us go out before it is too late." Whereupon Mascarinhas replied haughtily "no not so, let them all appear and then we can attack them all together with greater honour." Whereupon the said Captain-major replied "I declare before God and the world that if any disaster overtakes us I am not to blame." They could have prevented our landing and could have killed many of us (the landing being slow and the sea being rough) but the Almighty did not so will it.



**April 1644.**

On the 13th there were 4 dissaves or governors sent with 2000 lascoreans or Singalese soldiers and letter dated 11th January, by Raja Singa to the assistance of the Dutch, and appeared before Heer Caron at our encampment close to Colombo. After that, 11 days after the capture of the Fort of Negombo being employed in its reparation and that of its enclosure, the general, in pursuance of a resolution of the 20th January, left Negombo by land and along the coast in ships, (leaving a hundred men there with double rations) with 1003 men divided into 4 companies, and all the Sinhalese for Colombo. They arrived at noon next day at the Mutual river, half a mile from the city and halted but were checked. They thereupon put up an earth rampart on the river side as a defence against the enemy's cannon which was fiercely playing on them from three different places on the opposite side. At the mouth of the river, at a projecting neck of it, a battery was made the same night with sand-bags to plant guns on and the fleet was anchored close to our encampment. On the 22nd January there were, not without considerable trouble risk and loss, two light brass guns of 12 lbs. and 2 ditto culverines of 10 lbs. landed from the ship "Amsterdams boot," with two mortars, and mounted on the battery. We opened fire at night about 10 o'clock and the enemy was not silent but replied with the shooting of 7 of our men. After spending 6 days in getting across the river which was found to be wide, marshy, and occupied by watch posts, we gave it up as a bad job, with the intention however to make an attempt on the south side before abandoning the prey. When we arrived there we found a deep wide moat made since last year, a double rampart and two closed bastions round Colombo. So that this fortress could not be approached there with such a small force but with a courageous band of 3000 men, seeing that (so we were informed) the enemy had there

900 European soldiers including the recent reinforcement of 400 men.

600 citizens.

1000 mestices and trained caffers, and

1500 married Sinhalese,

altogether 4000 men strong. Therefore, but reluctantly, it was resolved by us and the Disaves of Raja to quit the place and march by land to Negombo, telling the fleet also follow there.

After the guns had again, with much trouble and loss, been taken from the "Fredrik Hendrik" on the night of the 27th and put on board the ships, and the force had marched to Negombo, our people and the 2000 Sinhalese reached the old encampment at 10 a.m. on the 28th and rested. And as Negombo after the departure of the ships, was threatened with a siege, there was taken into consideration the great profit to be derived from the cinnamon districts, which were here the best, richest, and most productive, stretching 11 miles south and north of the centre of the lands between Colombo and Negombo, which with the 23 miles under the Galle jurisdiction consisted of 34 miles of cinnamon lands. It was therefore decided by Heer Caron and his Council with the approval of the Dissaves, according to the plan made by the opperkoopman Pieter Vinckebooms to fortify Negombo with an earth rampart, 4 bastions, the curtains rivetted with coconut trees, sodded outwards and inwards with a moat 36 feet broad and 10 deep, with two half moons opposite the curtains on the land side and garrisoned with all the force, each person getting for the work besides his ordinary rations 6 stuivers a day, and the 150 Sinhalese should be rewarded for the labour by whatever could be captured. Thereupon our force being divided into four divisions began the work together with a will and great zeal on the 1st February, hoping to finish the work by the beginning of March when it was the intention of Heer Caron to leave the place for Colombo to find out whether our men taken prisoners at Acurasse had, as we heard to our regret, entered the service of the King of Portugal, and then to return to Galle. Nothing special has been accomplished so far as Raja Singa was concerned. Only his men 2000 strong, who had also gone opposite Colombo to our assistance against the Portuguese

remained a cannon shot outside Negombo or our encampment.

The *jachts* "Santvoort" and "Delfshaven" were to appear before Puncto Gale, "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla" before Negombo for the protection of the bay, and the ships "Snoeck" and "Grol" were to come here .. In case the Viceroy wished to liberate the men of the "Paauw" the following

50 Portuguese were sent by the "Delfshaven" in exchange;

10 Paulists.

2 Franciscan monks.

10 merchants and soldiers.

3 priests,

25 common soldiers captured at Negombo.

But if the men of the "Paauw" had already been liberated, Heer Blocq was to liberate in turn all the Malacca Portuguese as a recompense, and the remaining 28 should be sent on our ships to Batavia so that they may ere long be again seen in Ceylon.

From the letter of the 15th February written here by the "English Hoopwel" by the President Joan Thyssen and received to-day, there was no news conveyed except that if they wanted to conquer Colombo, a force of soldiers and sailors as appeared this year in Ceylon was necessary. Also that matters will never be right in relation to Raja Singa unless we and the Portuguese joined together and warred against him. The aforesaid President seemed disposed to bind himself to the Company for another three years if he could obtain his predecessor Coster's rank and pay. The koopman Gerrit Moutmaker, who on account of the departure of the President Jan Thyssen and the opperkoopman Martin Vinck, remained as the Chief of Galle, advises in his letter of the 22nd February, that Raja Singa had ordered all the cinnamon-peelers and inhabitants of the Galle corle not to live closer than 6 to 7 miles from Galle. He has ordered some of the foremost of our special Sinhalese, among them

the Dissanaïke, on account of their great friendship with the Dutch, to appear before him at Kandy to be punished, and not to supply our people with provisions, in the hope that thereby we may fall into poverty. The Portuguese remarking this, collected in the meantime the cinnamon on the side of Colombo as far as Alicaon, threatened again to settle at their old encampment outside Galle, which caused our natives to take refuge within the walls of Galle.

On the 17th ditto appeared at this port the ships "Fredrick Hendrick", "Wesel", "Snoeck", and "Grol", with the General François Caron, having left hither from the bay of Galle on the 19th March. It was ascertained from his report that His Honour, having with great labour and expense of f. 3286, after 37 days put the Fort of Negombo out of danger, and having sodded the walls and curtains on the seaside, left for Galle with the ships, except the *jachts* "Sutphen" and "Wingurla" which remained there, the fort being fortified by 20 iron and 7 brass guns and 500 men among them 450 soldiers divided into 5 companies, being well provisioned for 10 months, the opperkoopman Pieter Vinckebooms (who was a good engineer and soldier) being left with orders to keep an eye on the enemy's designs. Raja Singa was not at all pleased with the strengthening of Negombo, saying that it was done without his advice, endeavoured to get us to again march towards Colombo, paying us in words and inducing us to throw away our chances. For this purpose on the 26th February last, he sent three ambassadors to Heer Caron asking him whether it was known that he (Raja Singa) was sprung from the sun, and that he was not properly addressed by the Governor-General according to his rank, as over the signature of a letter addressed to him by the Governor-General there were the words "Your affectionate friend" which did not quite square with his ideas about himself. He was also addressed as "You" instead of "Your Royal Majesty," and the murder of Commander Coster has been laid to his charge, and such-like inanities. After they had answered this letter in due form and put everything on a proper footing, they went to His Majesty, who at once called back the 2,000 men (except a few who were keeping

watch) who had been with us before Colombo and were at that time encamped a cannon shot outside Negombo. In the meantime he was in vain warned to deliver cinnamon, elephants, wax, etc. He had presented to Heer Caron a tusker 5 cubits high as a return for some presents, as a token of friendship on his departure, but His Honour had to send a ship to Baticalo to take on board also the 20 elephants left there through Heer Boreel's hasty departure, in which event he would answer the Governor-General's letter.

When our ships appeared before Colombo on the 6th March to release our prisoners, and Don Philippo's commissioners had come on board on the given sign, it was indeed discovered that they, ignoring all honour and their oath, had given themselves to the service in this island of Don Juan, King of Portugal.

After Heer Caron had garrisoned Galle with 887 Dutch and provided the place with all necessaries, with the intention of shortly sending 400 of them to Madampe and the river Alican (being the boundary between the lands of Galle and Colombo) in order to understand what had taken place there, there happened what is recorded under 17th April.

The President Jan Thyssen says in his letter of the 18th March that it would not be strange if, as rumoured, Raja Singa had made peace with the Portuguese. The Company's forces in Ceylon were 1387 men. The comforter of the sick, Josephus Balbianus desires to be promoted proponent. From letters dated 23rd and 26th July from the opperkoopman Lourens de Maerschallck from Baticalo, it appeared that he had sent the *jacht* "Limmen" to Chaman-dure to get some elephants. A Portuguese champan with 300 amunams of arecanuts was captured by the Dutch. The crew who escaped and came ashore were caught by the Sinhalese and taken to His Majesty at Kandy. Rev. Johannes Sterthemius writes that the Holy Communion was celebrated at Galle for the first time on Christmas Day.

The President Jan Thyssen writes (28th March) that the three captured champans coming from Mannar to Colombo laden with rice, etc. were brought to the port of

Galle. The crew consisted of 1 Portuguese, 4 toepasses, 6 women and 41 Malabars who were put to labour in chains. The work which remained to be done at Negombo was almost complete, and the Sinhalese, in consequence of Raja's conduct, has fled inland. Our people also captured there 9 champans laden with rice, and the prisoners were put in chains and put to the completion of the works. Raja Sinha had betaken himself to the hills of Kandy and gathered all his people at Mupeligame. From the letters of the 24th April, it was learnt that the Portuguese had acquitted themselves manfully, had received from Goa as reinforcements at Colombo 10 fusts fully manned and a galley with which they attacked the *jachts* "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla". In the encounter they lost their galley, two fusts with 2 to 300 men, among them their captain-major Bernard de Meneses, besides suffering other losses. The rest of the ships, therefore returned to Colombo, were refitted and sent to Mannar by Don Philipppo with provisions.

### May 1644.

After the King's dissave Ekenack Mudalyar had caused all the inhabitants about 3 to 4 miles round Galle to repair to the hills, he again appeared on the 16th April at Galle with the intention of enticing away all the fishers, toddy-drawers and others in our service. For this reason one of his lascoreens was seized and put in chains, whom his master the dissave artfully traced to exculpate. The force at Galle consisted of 1570 men.

### 22nd January, 1643.

On the 22nd January, Heer Gardenijs at Pulicat received two letters from the king Raja Singa's brother at Colombo, addressed to the chiefs of the Dutch East India Company, of the purport as in the following translation :—

In the name of God,

Lord of Lords, a God of Lords, great as the sea, clear as the sun, lord of three worlds, a man chaste, not desirous of married women, who speaks the truth, of great understanding in all things, that he investigates into everything.

and protector of those who flee to him. All this and so great am I Vigeopalla Haraiya who sends this letter to our Dutch in forts or ships or in what places soever, and all to whom it may concern subordinate governors, admirals, commanders. What wrongs Raja Singa, my brother, has done to me must be known to Your Honour. There is no need to speak about everything but I am constrained to advert to some matters. My fault in being here is that he has cut off all communications with Galle and Baticalo. I have always willingly served my brother and assisted him in the defeat of the Portuguese, but he has returned evil for good. God knows all the trouble he has given me and He will judge the same in due time. Through my misfortune I have fallen into this hell. Before I came here I told these things to the captain of Baticalo with the object that he should offer me his assistance, if not, on failure of the same, I should be obliged to flee to Colombo. But I have received no help from him in anything. The 30 Hollanders were not sent, and what is more, I have received no answer which he will admit if you ask him. This is the reason why I am here.

On the 9th day after my arrival here there appeared at this port some ships of our Hollanders. The Portuguese were seized with great fear and anxiety and I was sought with fine words to defend this place with my people, whereupon the whole city was given over to me which made me quite contented. But to my misfortune our people did not disembark nor was I given any intention in what respects I could be of service, but they left as they came, after which departure the general prayed me to devise some means of poisoning the Hollanders at Galle, whereupon I in answer said, when my brother practised treachery against the admiral of the Hollanders and killed him, I was sad the whole day and night and told my brother whether he was born to allow such an everlasting slur to be cast on his race, and am I to be the same as he, a traitor to the Dutch, which must be indeed and far from me. After this they did not trust me much, but the bishop of the city and all other gentlemen requested me that I should take the oath of allegiance to the king to help him in everything, thinking that a refusal would

lead to great uproar and trouble, said that I was willing to do so when letters in respect of the same came from the king of Portugal. This made them distrust me and they said :—

“When you killed two Portuguese generals, shipped many elephants for the service of the Dutch at Cottiar, destroyed a ship of the Sultan and sent the Moors free to their country, were you not sorry? But now being on our side and not on that of the Dutch what reason have you to be sorry about the death of their admiral? What good have the Dutch done to you that you are so much disposed towards them?” And they said further :—“There is now a treaty between us and the Dutch. We shall soon get back Galle for we are not in agreement and then what profits you the favour of the Dutch? What profit will you gain?” Whereupon I was very sad. Some days after, Centerman showed me letters from the General that he was lord of Galle to the third generation. “Now I shall take prisoners the Prince of Orange and your brother.” Whereupon I being angry, said, “You are less than a servant of the admiral and how dare you speak like this?” And I thereupon struck him. The general on hearing this at once came out to attack me. At that time there were with me 2,000 men and three of our relations together with 3 Hollanders who had deserted to me. When he came close to me my people cut up 5 to 6 Portuguese and they killed one of my men with a bullet, but the bishop, priests, and all the people came and became friends again, but they hanged the three Hollanders. Another Hollander who lost his big toe and was taken at the Fort of Negombo, I quietly sent to Galle. The other three as they had now begun to stink I sent to Kandy. I thus saved 15 up to now although it is true I am now a prisoner with the Portuguese. I seek the welfare of the Hollanders and cannot remain longer in this place. Any ship that arrives here which you order to go away I shall send away, if I am to go to Galle I shall do so, if our people go by land and you order me to go to them I shall go. You people must not distrust me because Wyvaladarma Soyria Mahawit practised treachery on the Dutch at Baticalo or because my brother Raja Singaraja has been a traitor to the Dutch. That is all true but all the



fingers of a hand are not alike. I seek your friendship as your nature is good, as you are of good credit, high understanding, of good form and trustworthy, which is not the same with other people but only the Dutch. I therefore, seek your friendship. You know who is the chief of Ceylon. I am he. When I was yet young and played about I told the other children : " The Dutch must be called here, this (country) must be given to them and a treaty must be made with them. Now although I am a prisoner and grown up, I still seek your friendship. I have written this to you without fear, if the Portuguese knew this I should be in danger of my life. Yet with great courage, at my risk, I have desired to write to you of my friendship if you be pleased to be of assistance to me. If a ship arrives here give a sign from the mast head and openly tell me what you want me to do. The people that I send you from here can be fully trusted. If you do not believe them take an oath from them. If I enjoy your assistance it is unnecessary to say here what advantages you will gain but deeds will show. In my country there are gold, elephants and precious stones. There is also quick silver everywhere, so great is my country. I am of a generous disposition. If you gain the honour and fame of my release you will not want all the riches of my kingdom. Once before I gave my word to a Portuguese and kept it till his death. How could I not keep my word with you? So long as I do not receive any answer or help from you a day seems to me a year. This letter which my people bring to any place whatsoever where the Dutch may be whether at sea or on land, can be read by them. The contents thereof can be translated into Dutch and sent to Jacatra and one to the Lords of Holland, our friends. Notwithstanding the peace the Portuguese have secret orders to deceitfully occupy Galle. If any secret leaks out I shall inform you. This is the ninth letter I have written to you.

I am unspeakingly sad in this city of Colombo.

THE EMPEROR VIGEOPALLA."

**27th September, 1643.**

There arrived the "Hasewint" and from the letters of the 9th and 10th July, written by the opperkoopman Laurens Pit (Heer Gardenijs being ill) it was understood that the Commissaris Pieter Boreel having arrived there (Pulicat) on the 22nd June from Ceylon, was, on the 1st June, seized with a colic and species of apoplexy and died suddenly, and was the next day buried in great state in a masonry tomb in a most conspicuous part of the cemetery of Pulicat. His papers, property, etc., were sealed and inventorized and were to be landed here from the "Harderwyck."

Heer Gardenijs regrets the death of the Commissaris because he (Commissaris) who had great faith in him would have set at rest all the vile imputations made against him (Gardenijs) but if the Almighty spared his life he would be able to meet all the charges made against him.

Report from the successive advices from Ceylon, Goa, Wingurla and the Coast of India since 3rd November, 1642. Protest by the Commandeur Claas Cornelis Block, 29th October, 1643, against the Count of Aveiras, Viceroy, and his Council over the Portuguese government of India relating to the unreasonable grounds of the possession of the lands between Galle and Colombo, also the unconventional seizure of the Dutch ship "Paauw."

It is well known that as soon as the ratification of the treaty between the Netherlands and Portugal was made, it was announced by the Governor-General van Diemen but rejected by the Viceroy (Goa). The Dutch ship "Paauw" laden with silk (which in good faith entered Goa) was seized. Our right to the lands of Ceylon disputed.

Answer of the deputies of the Viceroy, Goa, 5th November, 1643 :—

The ambassador Pieter Boreel maintained that we should grant the Dutch the possession of some lands between Galle and Colombo, claiming those of Saffragam under a hypothec from the King of Kandy. We answer that there

are no lands in the district of Galle as an appanage to Galle, a town which has never been a village, camp, or fort.

As regards Saffragam how can a usurper and tyrant grant any rights ?

(Signed) ANDREAS MIJS,  
 „ ANTONIO FARIAS MACHADO  
 „ JOSEPH DE CHIAVEYS,

Sotto Maijoor.

Reply :

Articles 6th, 7th, and 8th are clear. Each party shall remain in *statu quo*.

Translation of letters written by the Kandyan King Raja Singa to the President Jan Thyssen.

Letters dated 23rd March 1644 (*See Journal, R.A.S. C.B., Vol. XVIII., p. 182*) and 4th April 1644 (*Ibid p. 183*).

### DAG-REGISTER, 1644-1645.

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### INTRODUCTION.

The first seven pages of this part were printed when I took over the publication of the Dag-Register from Dr. H. T. Colenbrander.

The manuscript here published is among the papers from India in the archives of the Chamber Amsterdam. A duplicate copy of the part of the account Goa-Wingurla Ceilon was found in the Sweers collection in the *Ryksarchief* . . . . . This Dag-Register contains valuable information respecting Ceylon, although much of it has already been made known by van Geer's "Okpomost van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon" where some of the documents here reproduced in the text are published.

\* \* \* \* \*

J. de Hullu.

\* \* \* \* \*

From letters from Goa it appeared that the Viceroy Don Philip de Mascarenhas, having left Colombo with 17 frigates in April, was caught in such a violent storm about the Indian coast that 10 of them were wrecked, but all the crew (excepting two fidalgos, among whom was the admiral of the fleet) were saved by clinging to masts and planks. The rest were driven ashore at Manaar close to Cape Comorin of whom five died and only two with the Viceroy were saved.

Account of the successive advices received from Ceylon, Goa, Wingurla and the Coast of India since 1st September 1644-10th November, 1645\*\*\*\*\*The commissioners of the Viceroy, *viz.*, Manuel Pareira, Joseph Pinto Pareira and the padre Gonsalo Veloso having, on the morning of the 3rd October, 1644, came on board in a gilded boat, showed to Herr Maatzuiker their commission authorizing them to settle their differences with the Dutch. On the 6th October, 1644, the padre Gonsalo Veloso appeared with a white flag bringing a letter from the Viceroy requesting Herr Maatzuiker to come ashore where good quarters would be provided for him. He landed in great state on the 13th October. The forts, ship and frigates fired their guns, and a cannon ball perilously passed over the boat. At Pangim he was welcomed by the Viceroy's son who took him to the Viceroy where he was courteously received in great state.

The following (translated from Latin) was agreed on.

\* \* \* \*

3. Cessation of hostilities.

4. King of Kandy to be included in the treaty.

\* \* \* \*

7. The workmen of the Island of Ceylon called Chaleas employed in the peeling of cinnamon, to carry on their work.

\* \* \* \*

Time will show whether we can get anything from Raja Sinha who it is said had entered into a treaty with Don Philippo.

\* \* \* \*

The *jachts* "Heemskerke" and "Delfshaven" arrived from Ceylon before the bay of Goa on the 28th October

1644 and came to the fleet with letters from the President Jan Thyssen dated 5th October, and from Julius Schilfly, chief of Negombo, written on the 16th ditto, relating how Don Philipppo, in persuance of his threats, besieged the fort of Negombo from the 27th May to the 14th August with an extraordinary force of 1,200 European Portuguese, 3,600 Sinhalese, 300 Caffers, and 14 pieces of artillery from 8, 12, 18 and 24 lbs. iron, and had fired over 7,000 rounds. He, remarking that we were not to be forced to surrender by cannon; on the 23rd July, in clear mid-day, divided his said force into 38 companies and three times commenced a general storm and attack. But our force, with God's help, repulsed them so courageously, that they were dispersed in disorder with the loss of 400 men among whom was Bernardo Mendosa, captain of the camp, three sergeant-majors, and many captains who were left under the bastions, besides many wounded, there remaining in all of their force only 12 companies. On our side we lost only 23 men among them Capt. Gerrit Meyer, Lt. Hans Philips van Warnstadt, Joan Anthony Stalpaert and other officers, and 64 wounded. But besides these a large number of people died of dropsy and starvation at Negombo. Don Philipppo being repulsed in this manner, retired under fire to the huts on the night of the 24th August. The said *jachts* "Heemskercken" and "Delffishaven" appeared before Negombo on the 1st September, and anchored before Galle two days afterwards, where Jan Thyssen, after he received news of the siege, had since 29th June sent a force of 580 men landwards to Colombo with the hope thereby of diverting the enemy and putting a stop to the siege, which did not disturb Don Philipppo. Being thus ignominiously dispersed, he sent his remaining force consisting of 500 soldiers under the command of Lourens Fereira de Britto to Hangergam, situated six miles from Colombo on the Galle side, but besides these there were still 400 serviceable citizens at Colombo and this was the entire Portuguese force in Ceylon, and according to the raw forces which had arrived from Portugal last May, they expected large reinforcements from Goa. Our force was captured at Balitot ten miles N.W. of Galle. His Majesty of Kandy kept wavering, and could not

be regarded either as our friend or open enemy. Don Philippo had the previous May sent him an embassy, which, it is said, was favourably received, but their negotiations remained a secret. But it looked as if the treaty between him and Don Philippo was concluded or soon would be, so that it appeared on all sides that we were not in much favour with him. The garrison of Galle consisted of 940 men and that of Negombo of 380, there being many invalids among them. Julius Schiffely, a Swiss and lately Capatain-lieutenant was given the command of Negombo on the 26th August, on the death of the gallant Vinckeboons, but the President Jan Thyssen was soon expected there, which was necessary as it was somewhat risky, the enemy being so near, to trust such a fort to an unknown foreigner. Don Philippo also was fully aware of this, an attempt having already been made for the surrender of the fort for 20,000 dollars as appeared from a letter in his own handwriting. Therefore the Heer Maatzuiker on his arrival in Ceylon intended, for greater security, to hand over the command of this fort to another person and to reward his (Schiffely's) services in some other way.

The ships "Westvrieslandt," "Enchuysen," the galleon "Bergen-op-Zoom," "Armuyden," "Heenskerck," and "Delfshaven" were, on the 15th November, sent with a force under the command of Heer Block to Ceylon with the terms of the truce.....but its publication was to be deferred till the arrival of Maatzuiker in Ceylon....

\* \* \* \*

The Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras would leave for Portugal in March 1645 as Don Philippo, who was to succeed him, could not come to Goa from Ceylon before that date.....

The 28 soldiers, which formed the garrison there (Wingurla), were ready with the six brass guns dismounted there, to go to Ceylon with Heer Maatzuyker.....

\* \* \* \*

### 1st December, 1645.

Heer Maatzuyker intended to leave Wingurla for Ceylon on the 1st December, with the ship "Rotterdam," the *jachts*

“Paauw” and “Zeemeeuw” and, at the request of the Viceroy, to touch at the Bay of Goa to take the ambassador Father Gonsalo Veloso and the commissioner of the merchants Francisco Ingerte to Batavia by way of Ceylon. He sent the terms of the truce to the Directors, to Suratte, and Persia for publication. Notwithstanding this truce our richly laden ships were warned not to go to Portuguese forts or harbours, to prevent an arrest similar to that of the “Paauw.”.....

On the 18th January, there arrived here with the ship “N. Amsterdan” by way of Coromandel letters from Heer Jan Thyssen dated Galle 10th September, 1644, mentioning how Negombo was violently besieged and that His Honour, to divert the enemy, had taken the field with 580 men as before stated at length. In the hospital there (Negombo) there were more than 240 invalids, and since the departure of the fleet 105 men had died, among them the opperkoopman Gerrit Moutmaecker (who died on the 7th July), and the Predikant Johannes Stertenius who died on the 25th. At Colombo, according to certain reports, there was great scarcity and dearness of rice, but the Portuguese make out that they expect provision from Goa. Raja Singa (of whom no one can make out anything) is not making any effort to deliver anything (either cinnamon, wax, elephants, etc.) to the Company in reduction of the expenses incurred, but on the contrary endeavours in a sinister way to take the cinnamon peelers from our lands to the hills, but Jan Thyssen had taken 48 cinnamon peelers against the wishes of the Raja's dissaves and paid 60 rixdollars for the delivery of 100 bhaars of cinnamon, and he will not fail to get a larger quantity as 1,000 bhaars can be had for 1,500 reals. But if the Company held a great force there Jan Thyssen maintained that the income and tolls of arecanut would compensate for the loss of the cinnamon and much of the expenses. But time will show.

The Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras had written to Raja Singa on the 14th May 1644 that he understood the reason why His Majesty of Kandy did not come to the assistance, at their

request, of the Dutch against Colombo, and trusted more in Portuguese than Dutch support, as any further agreement which His Majesty may enter into with Dom Philippo would be strictly maintained by the King Dom Joao the Fourth, indeed better than Dutch promises, and much more such like talk. Raja Singa says in his letter of the 5th October, to the President Jan Thyssen, that according to the treaty all the conquered forts should be given over to him, but the rule that when enemies take a thing they do not return it, does not apply in the case of friends. The season for the gathering in of cinnamon had passed, but he gave hopes of getting something. When he promised the same his country was disturbed, but now it was in peace. He desired not to permit our people to induce the blacks with gold to return to their duties and cinnamon peeling as was the case. But if all these people were not handed over to his dissave (whom he was sending for the purpose) he placed no reliance on the rest of the terms of the treaty between His Majesty and ourselves. He also enjoined the President Jan Thyssen that on the receipt of his letter, he should at once go with his force to Galle as the inhabitants were in a state of terror. The Portuguese ambassador Diego de Sousa da Cunha was still at the court and promised to send Raja an account of the negotiations between him and the Portuguese (if such could be believed), threatening in vain to come down to the plains from the hills with his men, and saying that he would not furnish Negombo with provisions (as it was fortified without his orders) unless it was given over to him, and such like idle talk. Dom Philippo wrote to Raja on the 21st September from Colombo that he was ordered by His Majesty Dom Joan the Fourth (whose queen had given birth to a son named Alphonso) to go to Goa to relieve the Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras. Pieter Vinckeboom seeks in his letter of the 22nd June through the President Jan Thyssen to be assisted in the siege with 20,000 lb. gun-powder, 300 balls of 6 to 12 lb., 2 cases matches, 100 hand-grenades, a quantity of drugs and provisions. When 50 of our men with 12 slaves went out to bring in some hewn coconut logs from the island Walcheren, they were attacked by the enemy, some soldiers

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and slaves were left behind, the rest saved themselves in a demi-lune, where an alarm being raised the place was stormed and abandoned by us. In this skirmish 10 Dutchmen, besides a corporal and gunner were killed and many wounded. The next day the half moon was dismantled by them having before removed a pederero of 4 lb. iron left there by us. May the Almighty repair this loss with a better victory. Certain small vessels arrived there (Galle) from the Maldives with some dry fish, and Jan Thyssen wrote a complimentary letter to the Sultan of the place with a present of a piece of white brocade and red satin.

On the 11th April, there appeared at this port Heer Joan Maatzuyker, having executed his commission, Father Gonsalo as ambassador of the Viceroy, and Father Ingerto commissioner of the merchants. They left Goa on the 9th December. Having arrived at Cochin on the 16th December the Portuguese ambassador desired that they should land, and announce the truce to the Governor of the place, which took place. The Governor Manuel Mascarenhas Omem, a discreet and good-hearted man, showed papers of his appointment by the King of Portugal as Governor or General of Ceylon in the place of Dom Philippo, and therefore intended going there by the first opportunity. Before the city of Cochin our people found a Portuguese ship which had sailed there straight from Portugal (without our knowledge) and it was to sail back from there to Portugal. The truce was published in solemn form. At Cabo Comorin advices were received from Batavia and Ceylon that Dom Philippo made no further attempt on Negombo after the siege. When Heer Maatzuyker arrived at the fleet at Negombo on the 27th he heard from Jan Thyssen about the settlement of the boundaries of the lands on both sides of the fort. After he had put everything in order at Negombo, he, on the 29th December, with the President Jan Thyssen and the Commandeur Blocq sailed for Colombo with the ships "Rotterdam," "Westvrieslant," "Enchuysen," "Bergen-op-Zoom," the galleon, and "Heemskerk", and arrived there the same day, firing a salute of guns which was answered by Dom Philippo from the Fort. The padre ambassador

Sr. Inatio Sermento and other qualified persons having come on board with a letter from Dom Philippo earnestly and in a very friendly manner invited Heer Maatzuyker to come ashore to see Dom Philippo. To this he answered that if His Excellency did not desist from such unreasonable propositions, it was better that he should remain on board not to rouse each others blood. The said persons went back ashore to announce this answer to His Excellency.

At mid-day the Father ambassador with some commissioners came on board again in the Viceroy's boat, stating that we would find the Viceroy Dom Philippo well disposed towards us, as the previous absurdities were not worth talking about and that in order that Heer Maatzuyker may be better informed about things, he should come ashore to have an interview with His Excellency. Therefore Heer Maatzuyker, Jan Thyssen, and the said padre came ashore leaving the care of the ships to Commandeur Blocq. He was here received in great state with a salute of guns and led between a company of soldiers to the Viceroy's house where he was welcomed by His Excellency and his nobles. Heer Maatzuyker was thereafter led to his quarters, which appeared to be the largest and finest house in Colombo, and courteously received by his host Domingos Martyns, a charming man. On the 1st January there came a special fidalgo from the Viceroy to wish Heer Maatzuyker a lucky new year, which wishes were reciprocated by Heer Geleynsen.

(Here follows negotiations about the fixing of the boundaries of the lands claimed by the Dutch on one side and the Portuguese on the other).

On the 12th January, Heer Maatzuyker took leave of the Viceroy.

On the 13th the truce was proclaimed at Negombo.

The Commissaris Vink writes from Galle that the Portuguese *jacht* "Nossa Senra de Concepcao de St. Bernardo," captain, Manuel Gorge d'Silva, who had a pass from the Governor-General to go from Macao through the straits of Malacca, had arrived there *en route* to Goa.

On the 28th January Dom Philipppo sent a courteous letter with a gold chain and a pretty straw hat with a gold band as a present to Heer Maatzuyker. On the 31st January Heer Maatzuyker and his council granted to Heer Jan Thyssen an extension of his service under a new three years contract with the title of Vice-Governor at 300 guilders a month.

The Commissaris Marten Vink was to remain at Negombo as chief, and in his place as *secunde* at Galle the opperkoopman Henrick van Thuynen. After Heer Maatzuyker had put everything in order he left Negombo for Colombo on the 15th to take the padre ambassador from there, and arrived at the bay in the afternoon. The next day the Viceroy Dom Philipppo sent with Padre Gonsalo a fine Portuguese chaloup with some provisions as a present to Heer Maatzuyker which were thankfully accepted, and in the evening he sailed from there to Galle. On the 20th of the same month (Feb.) Heer Maatzuyker arrived with his ship at Galle where he lodged in the house of the President Jan Thyssen and the padre ambassador in the house of the Commissaris Vink. Dom Philipppo had by letter of the 22nd asked Heer Maatzuyker that the bastard child of the scoundrel St. Amand should be sent to him, with the request that we should disregard the injury done to us by the father, but have some regard for His Excellency who would do anything to please us, which was granted to His Excellency for various good reasons and for the favour of the release of the wife and children of Domingos Alures.

The letter of Raja Singa in answer to that of Heer Maatzuyker received at Galle on the 28th February, was as follows.

(See Vol. XVIII. Journal, R.A.S., C.B., 185).

After the bearers of the letters had told Heer Maatzuyker that they understood from His Majesty that he would never enter into any treaty with the Portuguese, the following letter in answer was given to them.

(See Vol. XVIII. Journal, R.A.S., C.B., p. 187).

Raja gave out that he intended sending ambassadors to the King of Spain and the great Turk, asking for assistance.

Negombo had a garrison of 530 men and Galle 840. In order to spread Christianity among the Sinhalese they wanted some good visitors of the sick and especially a predikant for holding services at Galle in place of the late Rev. Sterthemuis, as in the whole island there were only 2 visitors of the sick, as Balbianus had obtained his discharge by expiration of time.

The Viceroy Dom Philippo, after being relieved by Manuel Mascarenhas Oome left Colombo for Goa on the 31st March, but was shipwrecked with the loss of 24 fusten, but it was certain that he had saved himself at Calpentyne between Negombo and Manaar, but whether he will remain the winter at Jaffna or go to Goa, time will show.

Heer Jan Thyssen intended greeting the new general Manuel Mascarenhas Ome with a courteous letter and to ask him as the elephant-catching was to take place soon whether he could accommodate us, either by sale or loan with 4 cow-elephants. The koopman Laurens Maerschallck writes in February, March, and April from Baticalo to Governor Jan Thyssen of the scarcity of provisions there. Raja caused two veddahs, who had secretly supplied the Company with wax, to be killed.

Capt. Lambert Camholt at Matara with the lascareens was reinforced by most of the men who returned from Mapouligamme and Capt. van der Laan was at Hackman with 200 white and 100 black soldiers. The Franciscans, who, it is said, never paid any taxes to the King, had on our approval paid 85 reals for the villages possessed by them.

The Jesuits, who possess various villages, and, among others, in the Galle District, Bamberande, whose patent had expired on the 31st October, claimed by virtue of a new confirmation of the year 1642 granted by the King, possession of their villages for another 9 years and that they should be given the village Monifferen to the north of Negombo.

The ascendancy which the Roman Catholics had obtained over the inhabitants was, on our orders duly checked.

and it was not permitted to the Moors to settle inland, so as to prevent the inhabitants being converted to their faith, but they all had to confine themselves to the sea-coast. Many Sinhalese have shown a willingness to embrace our religion and it is hoped that with the zeal of Rev. Hilarius and two schoolmasters, good results will follow.

The Portuguese ambassador Diogo de Sousa de Cunha who had remained over a year at Court in order to enter into a treaty with the King, returned to Colombo with his mission unfulfilled.

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## EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

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### No. 5. THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDERS: PHYSICAL TRAITS & GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

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#### Foreword.

Into his exhaustive and illuminating “ *Report on the Census of Ceylon, 1921*,” Volume I, Part II, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., has embodied, by way of profitable illustration, more than a score of excellent vignettes of “ Ceylon Type ” natives, male and female.

The purpose of the present Paper is to supplement, and round off, the illustrations of the Census Report, with a series of typical group photographs of Máldivians, mainly belonging to the Northern and Southern (as distinct from Central) Atols of the Máldive Archipelago, Ceylon’s one Dependency; accompanying the Plates by some description of the physical traits and general characteristics of the Islanders.

No apology seems needed—the writer having been privileged freely to revise for press its Chapter IX (pp.95-108)—for “ lifting,” from the *Census Report*, (whilst venturing to expand and annotate here and there, *quantum sufficit*) so much of the letter-press anent “ The Máldive Islands ” as is germane to the subject in hand; in as much as the particulars set out by the Census Commissioner in his Report of 1921 had of necessity to be drawn in great degree from the known authorities—very few in number—who have afforded reliable information in real detail touching the Group.

These are: *Ibn Batûta*, A. C. 1344 (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No. 1882); *Pyrrard*, 1602-7; *Christopher and Young*, 1835; *Ceylon Sessional Papers*, XLIII, 1881; XV, 1921; *Census Report*, 1911; *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919.

### Plates.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the Plates, it appears quite unnecessary to burden this Paper by a superfluity of photographs of Islanders from the Atols which intervene between the three most Northerly (Tiladummatí, Miladummaḍulu and Málosmaḍulu), and the two (Huvadú and Addú, with Fua Mulaku Island midway) lying to the extreme South of the Group.

Physical divergencies shade off so imperceptibly in the natives of these intermediate Atols, that, whilst speech and mannerisms might possibly bewray them, looks and garb would not afford any appreciable differentiation.

#### *Plate I.*

Men of Tiladummatí, Miladummaḍulu, and Málosmaḍulu, Atols: 1922.

#### *Plate II.*

Women, Girls, and Child of Mále Island: 1920; 1922.

#### *Plate III.*

Women, Girls, and Children of Mále Island and Mulaku Island (Mulaku Atol): 1920; 1922.

#### *Plate IV*

Men, Women, and Boy, of Huvadú (Suwádiva) and Addú. Atols: 1883.

#### *Plate V.*

Men of Huvadú (Suwádiva) and Addú Atols: 1922.

#### *Plate VI.*

Women, Girls, and Children of Fua Mulaku Island and Gan Island (Addú Atol): 1922.

## THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDS.

The Coral Archipelago known as "The Máldive Islands" extends in the Indian Ocean from lat.  $7^{\circ} 6' N.$  to lat.  $0^{\circ} 42' S.$ , and between long.  $72^{\circ} 33'$  and  $73^{\circ} 44'$ ; covering 470 miles N. and S. by 70 miles E. and W. at widest.

To North, in lat.  $8^{\circ} 20' N.$ , separated by the "Eight Degree Chanuel," lies the isolated reef-bank of Minicoy (M. *Maliku*), distant 110 miles from the nearest Lakkadive shoal further North, and 70 miles from Ihavandiffulu, the most Northerly of the Máldive Atols, to the South.

The Máldives are grouped together in clusters called "Atols" (M. *atolu*; Sin. *etula*), of which there are nearly twenty in all; but, with an eye to administrative facilities, the Máldivians themselves have confined the Atols to Thirteen Divisions for some centuries.

Ihavandiffulu Atol (included fiscally with Tiladummati Atol) lying since the loss of *Maliku* (Minicoy) to the Rájas of Káñṇaṇúṛ—at the extreme North end of the Máldive Islands is some 250 miles from the Indian Continent; Mále, where the Sultán resides, central, about 400 miles South-West of the nearest port of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Inhabitants.

At this day it is not open to doubt that the whole Archipelago—including *Maliku* (Minicoy), now grouped with the Lakkadives and no longer owing allegiance to the Sultáns of the Máldive Islands—was occupied, either directly from Ceylon or, alternatively, about the same time as the B. C. immigration into that Island, by people of Aryan stock and language.<sup>3</sup> This supposition is supported greatly by the close kinship between the Máldive and Sinhalese languages.



Gradually, from continuous contact and intercourse with natives of the West Coast of India—chiefly Malabar *Máppillas* (vulgarly “Moplahs”),—the influx of Arabs and other aliens, and the occasional importation of African slaves, many characteristics of the original type have been considerably modified. Very markedly is this the case in the Northern Atols, which have been necessarily much more exposed to foreign influence than those lying South.

Muslim predominance, enhanced steadily by regular trade and commerce in the course of three or four centuries at least, culminated in the overthrow of Buddhism, the ruling religion of the Group, and the conversion of the Islanders to Islám in mid-Twelfth Century (A.H.548: A.C. 1153-54).

Since that period the Islands have been governed by a succession of Muḥammadan Sultáns (or, very occasionally, Sultánas), except during the fifteen years of Portuguese forcible occupation in the Sixteenth Century (A.C. 1558-1573).

## 2. Population.

The latest Census (1921) gives the full number of inhabited islands as 217; containing 38,174 males and 32,239 females, or a total population of 70,413.

It was to be expected that the Northern Atols should possess most population; to wit, Tiladummatí, 10,108; Málosmaḍulu (North and South), 7,793; Miladummaḍulu (North and South), 7,021.

The only Southern Atol showing a figure as high as even the last-named is the largest of all the Atols, Huvadú (Suwádiva), with its 7,020 inhabitants.

Mále, the Capital of the Group, though in area approximately but one mile East and West by half a mile across North and South, easily by itself outnumbers, in its over-dense population of 6,127 males

and females, that of any of the Atols as a whole, saving the four above specified.

With the exception of 217 foreigners on Mále Island (137 Borahs, 22 Malabars, and 58 Ceylon Moors), the inhabitants of the Mádives were, in 1921, entirely Mádivian, and all Muhammadans

### 3. Physical Traits.

The Islanders are peopled at this day by a civilized race, originally of Aryan source, which exhibits characteristics both of that and Dravidian type.

In the more Northerly Atols very many present traces of Arab and *Mápi!!* (Moplah) physiognomy; this lessens Southwards so gradually as to be hardly traceable step by step.

Most of the types at Mále, and further North, are familiar enough in Ceylon among the Moormen and Southern Indian races. The Southern Islanders approximate much more closely to the Sinhalese.<sup>4</sup>

The Islanders are admittedly a hardy people; due to their predominant occupations, chiefly as sailors and fishermen "elect of the sea."<sup>5</sup> Old persons, both men and women, are quite common throughout the Atols.

In general the natives are of a dark-brown hue; but among the higher classes at Mále are found Nobles (*M.Boḍun*) and ladies very much lighter in complexion, owing probably to marriage with light-skinned aliens.

The women are usually somewhat fairer than the men. They have regular features, are shapely in figure, and for the most part goodlooking—some distinctly pretty—when young. For the rest, in stature the majority, like the men, are short, though tall women are to be seen occasionally here and there.<sup>6</sup>

The average height of the men is 5 ft. 2 ins.; but instances are not unknown of individuals, of very fine physique, standing over 6 ft.<sup>7</sup>

Being Muslims, the men, from the Sultán downwards, without exception, keep their heads shaved; as usually their faces also, though free to allow as much hair to grow on the latter as they like—a noteworthy departure from the custom of three centuries back: this permitted the soldiers, officials, and those of gentle birth to wear their hair as long as the women, whilst forbidding all save church dignitaries and *Hájís* to grow long beards according to fancy.

#### 4. General Characteristics.<sup>8</sup>

As a race the Mádivians are most inoffensive. Naturally a somewhat timid people, their isolation still induces a certain degree of aloofness and suspicion which in former days was more strongly exhibited.<sup>9</sup>

Crime of a heinous character is scarcely heard of on these Islands; even theft and personal violence are of rare occurrence; murder has been very seldom known.<sup>10</sup>

In their conduct to foreigners the Islanders are thoroughly humane and generous;<sup>11</sup> towards each other noticeably obliging, rendering one another prompt and willing assistance; and to their kindred extremely affectionate.<sup>12</sup>

The Nobility is exceptionally hospitable; and not wanting in a refined sociability, which ever exhales that charming courtesy, the distinguishing badge of the true Muslim gentleman.

Of the natives of the Capital (Mále) it has been remarked recently (1920):—

“In regard to the inhabitants of Mále (whose physical characteristics have been frequently described by visitors), it is pleasant to record, with the experience born of close observation, that a delightful spirit of ease and contentment seems to prevail universally. So far as can be judged, the natives appear to be healthy and well-to-do. They go about their respective

business cheerfully, and with an air of settled purpose and determination, preserving the while the silent observant demeanour which customarily marks the Muḥammadan. The very bazárs (native and foreign) present none of that noisy bustle and semi-confusion daily experienced in the crowded marts of Southern India and Ceylon.

“Discipline and self-control rule from the highest to the lowest, side by side with the fullest toleration and freedom of action—the latter extending in the case of the ordinary women (albeit under Muslim regime) to the limit of permitting their appearance in the streets unveiled.”<sup>13</sup>

### 5. Dress.

The ordinary dress of the men consists of short drawers (*M.haraválu*); a cloth wrapped round the waist (*M.mundu*), after the Sinhalese fashion; and a kerchief twisted over the head (*M.ruma*). Sometimes a thin shirt (*M.kuru libás*), generally white, is worn.

The mode of dress in the early Seventeenth Century, as minutely described by Pyrard, must have been both richer and more elaborate. It included the use of turbans and silk scarves.

The women follow the Low-Country Sinhalese custom of wearing a waistcloth (*M.féli*), which is woven on the Islands themselves, coarse in texture, but striking and tasteful in its colouring—chocolate ground relieved by black and white stripes. The upper part of the body is covered by a long, loose-fitting, coloured blouse (*M.libás*), of cotton or silk, reaching to the knees, short sleeved, and edged at the neck with gold or silver tinsel lace.

Ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and other ornaments may deck the person.

Their luxuriant black hair is bound into a knot—at Mále on the right side of the head, in Atols further South on the top:—upon which a chocolate kerchief of native make (*M.ruma*) is jauntily set.<sup>14</sup>

### 6. Occupations.

The labouring classes, exclusive of those engaged in pursuits connected with trade, follow various employments as a means of subsistence.

Among the men the occupations much the most favoured are fishing<sup>15</sup> and sea-faring: other industries are husbandry; gathering coconuts; toddy drawing; and a few minor activities.

Less than a score are employed now-a-days in the delicate art of turning out the exquisite and unique lacquer-work produced on these Islands, chiefly for the use of Royalty and the Nobles.

Some choice jewellery is also made in a few islands.

To the women are left, well-nigh entirely, the making of coir; lace-work; mat-weaving; and the collection of cowries.<sup>16</sup>

### 7. Trade.<sup>17</sup>

Far the largest Export trade of the Islands consists in that well-known comestible of Oriental natives dried "Máldive fish" (*M.kummala-mas*; *Sin umbalacada*), coconuts (*M.kári*), and coir (*M.ronu*)—the two latter products being shipped almost exclusively to India. Tortoise-shell (*M.kahabu-fat*) is also regularly exported.

The total Exports from the Máldives to Ceylon rose beyond ten and a half-fold between 1860 (£20,136) and 1919 (£215,906). Over the same period, the Import trade of the Islands grew to more than five times the value of sixty years before: 1860 (£5,101); 1919 (£26,434).

### 8. Language and Script.

The language (*M.Divehi bas*) spoken by the Islanders is substantially the same throughout the far-flung Group—including *Maliku* (where it is termed "*Máhl*")—though dialeetal variations of the Mále standard naturally occur; particularly in the Southern

Atols, which have been less affected by foreign intercourse.

A very large proportion of the Máldivian vocabulary consists (a) either of pure Sinhalese words, modified by vowel changes and—owing to Arabic influence—the adoption of the dento-labial consonant “f” for the labial “p,” or (b) of derivatives from roots common to both languages.

Trade, and other intercourse, with alien races have added a considerable number of words of foreign origin, chiefly Hindustáni.

The oldest form of Máldivian script yet discovered, (i) “*Eréla Akuru*” (lit. “Ancient letters”), is that found on a few copper-plate grants (*M.lómáfánu*) which have survived to this day.

This type, strikingly resembling medieval Sinhalese lithic script, gradually developed into the (ii) “*Dives Akuru*” characters (lit. “Máldive letters”); which, though no longer employed, are known to a limited number of Máldivians on the Group. Both (i) and (ii) are read from left to right.

The third form of character, (iii) “*Tána*” (or “*Gabuli Tána*”)—based on Arabic and Persian elements, and, like them, read from right to left—seems to have been in concurrent use with (ii) “*Dives Akuru*” from the Seventeenth Century at least, if not earlier.<sup>18</sup>

## NOTES.

1. **Plates.** The men, women, and children of Plates IV (7, 8), and VI (11, 12), and the women and children of Plates II (3), III (5, 6), are dressed in ordinary garb. Most of the men in Plates I (1, 2), V (9, 10), have donned shirts (*M.kuru libás*) for the occasion.

*Plate I (1).* The Islanders in front belong to Miladummadulu Atol (North); those at back to Tiladummati Atol.\*

\* Men of Kuluduffuri and Diddú Islands (Tiladummati Atol) and Mál Kaḍudú (Miladummadulu Atol, North).

*Plate I* (2). In the front row the men are from Málosmaḍulu Atol (North); those behind from Málosmaḍulu Atol (South)\*

*Plate II*. The two female figures of (4) are Mále ladies.

*Plate V*. The Islanders of (9) came from Huvadú (Suvádiva) Atol; of (10) from Addú Atol.†

*Plate VI*. The women and children in (11) belong to Fua Mulaku Island; those in (12) to Gan Island of Addú Atol.

The mixed Photographs (*Plate IV*, 7, 8) were taken at Colombo in 1883, when Máldive *o i-faharu* were visiting Ceylon during the N.E. Monsoon.

Close approximation to Siṅhalese type is well exhibited by some of the Islanders in this Plate.

2. **Map.** For a compact small-scale "Map of the Máldive Islands." See Plate I. *C.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XXX, No. 75, 1925.

3. **Date of Occupation.** Such was the tradition among the Maldivians themselves, according to Pyrard, even in the early Seventeenth Century:—

"They hold that the *Maldives* began to be inhabited only four hundred years ago, and that the first who came and peopled them were the *Cingalles* of the island of Ceylon (which is not far distant), and were idolaters, but afterwards changed their religion; it being about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years at most since they received Mahomedanism, through the Moorish and Arabian navigators, who, while trading over all the continent and islands of the East Indies, brought there also their law, which has since remained in most of those parts." (Pyrard, *Voyage; Hak. Soc.* I, p.265-6).

Pyrard post-dates the Muslim Conversion of A. C. 1153-4 by at least 250 years, and the original immigration still more egregiously.

4. **Foreign Influx.** "A large number of foreigners from all parts meet there and make it their home: besides many Indians who from time to time are wrecked there . . . . This is why the people living at *Malé* and the neighbouring parts

\* Men of Inguraidú and Midú Islands (Málosmaḍulu Atol) North and Tuládú (Málosmaḍulu Atol, South).

† Men of Gaddú Island (Huvadú) Atol of Huludú and Hitadú (Addú Atol).

towards the North are more polished, genteel, and civilised; while, those toward the South are ruder in language and habits, and also are less well-formed in body, and darker. . . . The Northern parts, are more frequented by foreigners, who usually marry there. There, too, pass all the ships, which enrich the country and tend to civilise it . . . . Albeit the people of the South are no less well-informed and clever than the rest, perhaps more so in some ways; but as for the nobles, they are all in the North." (Pyrard, *loc. cit.* p.105).

5. **Sea-faring Race.** The Máldive Islanders are expert and intrepid mariners, whose picturesque boats (*M.odi-faharu. dón-faharu*) used to be seen in many Indian ports, not infrequently.

Formerly—"sailing upon different stars (by means of their effective, if primitive, nautical instruments) in lieu of points of the compass"—they made long, greatly adventurous, voyages, from the "tempest-haunted" Atols, in their small, light-built, but most sea-worthy vessels, as far as Aden, Calcutta, Penang, Sumátra, &c., braving the storms and formidable currents which sweep round the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. (*C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919).

6. **Women.** "In truth they seemed to be pretty and engaging enough, as much by reason that they are neatly dressed as that they are well formed, of good figures, and winsome ways; albeit they are of an olive skin, for the most part, although you will find many brunettes, and many quite fair, just as in other parts." (Pyrard, *loc. cit.* p.169).

7. **Stalwarts.** A-Gaḍuvaru Manifulu, *ex-Sultān* Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn V, son of Sultān Ibrāhīm Nūr-ud-dīn; and Músá Máfāt Kilēgefānu, son of Numara Gaḍuvaru Ḥasan Fārinu Kilēgefānu, both now dead, were noticeable in 1920 among such exceptionally tall, well-built Nobles.

8. **General Characteristics.** The Maghrabin traveller in A.C. 1344, Ibn Baṭūṭa, not unnaturally speaks highly of his Muslim co-religionists:—

"The inhabitants of the Máldive Islands are honest and pious people, sincere in good faith and of a strong will: they eat only what is lawful, and their prayers are granted." (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No., 1882 p.6).



The "infidel" Portuguese, Barbosa (A.C. 1518), finds few good points:—"The men of the Isles have no weapons whatever; they are feeble folk, yet right cunning, but very clever; and above all things they are mighty magicians." (Duarte Barbosa: *Huc. Soc.* Vol. II, p.104).

Pyrard, the French captive, who spent seven years (1602-7) on the group, is ultra-eulogistic:—

"In short, the people are exceeding adroit, much given to the manufacture of all kinds of things, and excelling therein, even in letters and science, according to their notions; but more especially in astrology, in which they make great business. They are a prudent and circumspect people, very cunning in trade and in social life. And while they are valiant, and courageous, and skilled in arms, they live under a complete system of law and police (Pyrard, *loc. cit.* p.106).

For more recent accounts of the Islanders, see the details given by Lieutenants Christopher and Young (*Transactions Bombay Geographical Society*, 1836-8), and *Sessional Papers* XI,III, 1881; XV, 1921.

9. **Misgiving.** Displayed unmistakably less than a century back in connection with the Survey of the Máldive Archipelago by the Indian Navy vessels in 1834:—

"The suspicious nature of Captain Moresby's avowed object co-operated with political circumstances, upon minds whose characteristic trait is fearfulness. They objected to the surveying flags, and were not satisfied until they were permitted to set up their own also." (*Trans. Bombay Geo. Soc., loc. cit.* pp.103-4).

10. **Murder.** For very many years past only two murders are reported to have occurred on the Máldive Islands:—

(a) A party of islanders from *Hodaidú* of Tiladummati Atol (who, when seized and tried at Mále, admitted their crime, pleading starvation), landed on *Lubo Kadu* an uninhabited island planted with coconuts; and to escape detection, killed the only two watchers.

(b) A woman of *Kadudú* (Kolumađuļu Atol) made away with her child, by drowning it.

As punishment at the Máldives in such cases, after trial and sentence by the *Kázi*, the murderers are led

round the main streets of Mále with their faces blackened, and a rope round the waist, besides being subjected to other humiliations. They are then taken to the sea-beach and beaten with the official leather thong (*M. durá*) and special rod of four canes tied together (*M. hataru fun etteyo*); chastisement up to 19 strokes being the full tale allowed: thereafter all are banished to various Atols.

The Death penalty has long ceased to be enforced on the Islands.

11. **Humanity**, See *C. A. J. Journal* Vol. XXIX, No. 76, 1925, rp.207-8.

12. **Affection**. When Galolu-ge Gomá, his aunt, lay slowly dying at Mále in 1922, H. H. the Sultán Muḥammad Shams-ud-din III, did not fail to leave the Palace every day to attend on her in person.

13. **Sessional Paper, XV, 1921**, "The Máldive Islands" p.43.

14. **Dress**. In mid-Fourteenth Century, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa, the women would appear to have had no covering either for the head, or for the upper part of the body:—

"The women of these Islands do not cover the head: the Sovereign herself does not so. They comb their hair and tie it up on one side. Most of them wear only a cloth, covering them from the navel to the ground; the rest of the body remains uncovered." (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No. 1872 p.11).

Two centuries and a half had worked great change in both these respects, for Pyrard (*loc. cit.*, pp.166-7; 106-07) writes:—

"As for the women, first of all they have a large coloured cloth of cotton or silk, which covers them from the waist to the ankles, and serves as a petticoat. Above this they wear a robe of taffetas, or of very fine cotton, but very long, reaching to the feet, and with blue and white borders. To give a notion of its shape, I cannot better describe this robe than by comparing it to the chemises which the women here wear. It is a little open round the neck, and fastened with two little gilt buttons, and likewise open at the throat in front, but no further at the breast. . . . Their arms are charged with heavy bracelets of silver, sometimes from the wrist up to the elbow: some of them have them

mixed with tin, chiefly the poor, while the rest have them of fine and massive silver."

"The hair, is in general black. . . . They dress it by taking all the hair from the front behind, and drawing it as tight as possible, so that not a hair strays hither or thither; then they tie it up behind and make a large knotted bunch; and in order to enlarge that they use a perruque of man's hair (but as long as a women's), in form like a horse's tail."

15. **Fishing.** Of the male earners nearly 60 per cent., or 14,760, depend upon fishing for their livelihood (*Census Report*, 1921).

16. **Other Occupations.** Coir makers, 9,224; lace-workers, 1,586; husbandry, 1425; mat-weavers, 777; cowry collectors, 348, mostly women. (*Loc. cit.* 1921).

Most coir (of which there are 12 kinds in all) is prepared in Ari Atol.

The cowry trade is rapidly dwindling. In 1911 (*Census Report*), there were 1045 (194 males, 851 females) collectors, or thrice the number of ten years later

Almost all the ornamental "Máldive mats," so highly valued for their choice execution, are made from a rush growing at Huvadú Atol. They exhibit many neat patterns, in which black, brown, yellow and white are blended tastefully.

17. **Trade.** For fuller particulars touching the Trade and Commerce of the Máldive Islands, *Sessional Papers* XLIII, 1881: XV. 1921: and *Census Report*, 1921, may be consulted.

18. **Language and Script.** Regarding the Máldivian Language and Script see *Sessional Paper* XLIII, 1881, C. A. S. *Journal* Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919. and Appendices: Vols. XXIX, XXX Nos. 75, 76, 77, 1922-1924.

Maldivian Islanders: 1922.

PLATE I.



1. THILADUMMAH AND MHALADUMMAHULU ATOLLS.

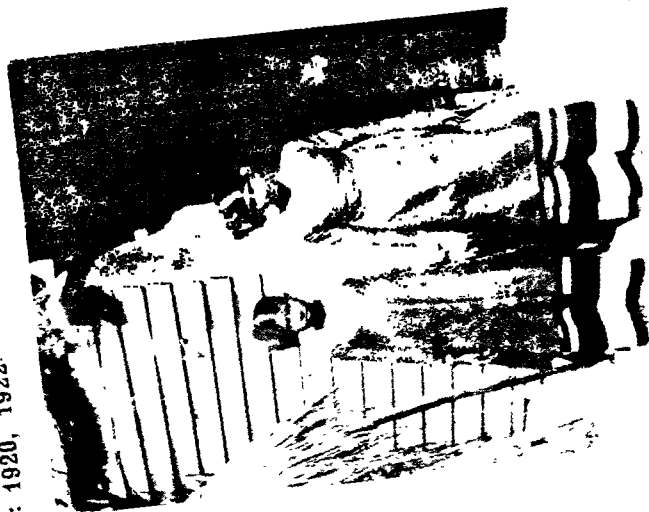


2. M'LOSMAHULU ATOLL.



PLATE II.

Maldivo Islanders : 1920, 1922.



3 4. MALDIV ISLAND



/  
**Maldiv Islanders: 1920, 1922**

**PLATE III.**



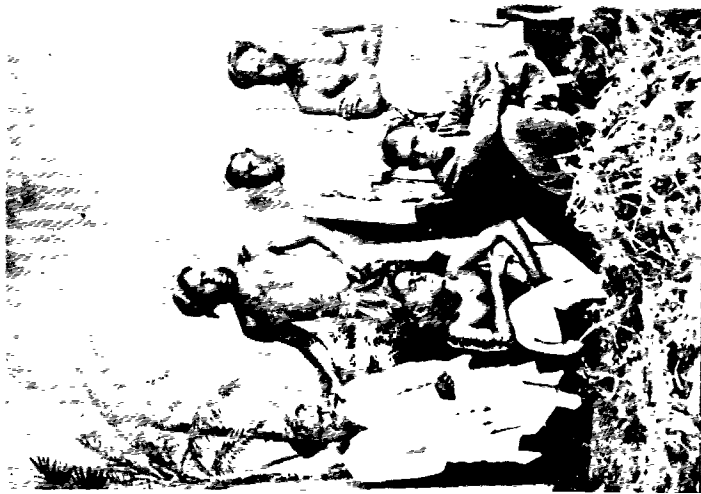
5 MĀLF ISLAND



6 MULAKU ISLAND







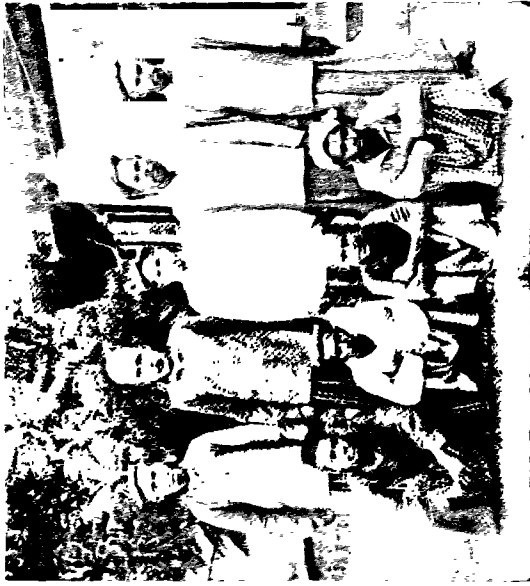


Maldivé Islanders: 1922.

PLATE V.



o Hivadi Atol.



to. Annd Atol.



Maldivian Islanders : 1922.



II. FUA MULAKI ISLAND



12. GAN ISLAND



## THE IHALA PULIYANKULAMA PILLAR.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C. C. S.

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This pillar-inscription, now in the compound of the Residency at Puttalam, was brought many years ago from the ruins at Ihala Puliyankulama, some  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile N. W. of the  $17\frac{1}{2}$  mile stone on the Puttalam-Anurádhapura road. The upper half is much weathered, as if the pillar had been long half buried in the ground. It is inscribed on two sides only and may have formed part of a building. I am indebted for the excellent estampage to the kindness of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

The record is dated in the ninth year of Parákrama Báhu I. The *biruda*, given in lines A 8-10, is one of the sixteen "new titles" (අනුමානමය), after which, according to the *Nikaya Saṅgahava*, Parákrama named 360 pirivenas. A similar name, Rájavesi-bhujāṅga, was given to "a very pleasant open hall" at Polonnaruwa (Mhv. LXXIII, 87), and to one of the three "branch cities" (*ib.* LXXIII, 151; LXXVIII, 82).

The document is peculiar. It does not contain the usual grant of land and immunities to a temple, and apparently was set up in order to glorify a chief, one Tisa Máranávan, who was an officer of state under Parákrama Báhu and ruled the important principality of Máya-rāṭa, once the appanage of the heir apparent. I am unable to trace anyone of the name in the historical books. The general of Sena II. is called in the *Dīḷadā Iśāvaṇya* by the name of Māra Senevirajun. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Buddha of Máragalla served Vijaya Báhu I. (Mhv. LV, 26); his village perhaps was identical with Mārapabbata (*ib.* XLVIII, 129) and Nigrodha Máragalla (*ib.* LXXV, 186). But these



villages were in Ruhuna. A chief of Máragiri, by name Mattatála, was on the side of Mánabharana in the civil wars (*ib.* LXXII, 43), while one Máragiri Nigrodha commanded under Parákrama at the same time (*ib.* 197, 207), apparently in the Máya country. Clearly the chief mentioned in our present record was of very high rank, and it is probable that his identity is concealed under some title in the *Mahāvamsa* history. Parákrama Báhu had waged no foreign war by his ninth year. The *pararāja* thus must have been Gaja Báhu II. or Mánabharana; Gaja Báhu's country is called *paramaṇḍala* in the last verses of Mhv. LXIV and LXVI, where the word is mistranslated by Wijesinha as "Upper Provinces" and "Upper Province."

The script calls for little comment. The varying formation of ੍ in A 11 and 13 should be noticed, as well as the *al* sign in ඩාඤ්ඤ (A 15). The reading ੍ in B 5 is justified, in spite of the prolongation of the tail of the letter, by the similar lengthening of ੍ in A 13 and of ੍ in A 24. The archaic form of ੍ in ඩිඤ්ඤ in B11 is remarkable.

Some further points deserve special notice and consideration.

A.1 *Samu* = Skt. *Sammata*, here the first king of the human race. But *sammata* also means "command," "order." The form *samu* appears in the Ambagamuwa inscription of Vijaya Báhu I. in the phrase *ek ten samuyen* in lieu of the *ek ten samiye* so common in the records of the preceding age. Mr. Wickremasinghe considers that *ten* is derived from *ásthána*, "assembly," and so renders *ek ten* by "the Supreme Council." But we may observe four points:—

(1) *Ten* normally comes from *sthána*, whereas the Sinhalese equivalent of *ásthána* is *attāṇi* (Ruvanmala, 311) occurring in the same documents as the expression under discussion.

(2) The Royal Council is spoken as *sabhá* or *raj-sabhá*, also in the same documents. Mr. Wickremasinghe in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p.218 says: "*Ektān samuyen* more commonly *ektān samiye*. We find this word replaced by *sabháye* in Kukurumahan-damana pillar (side A, line 22, above, p.123), thus confirming our interpretation of this expression in Vol. I, p.206, note 2." But in this inscription (Ep. Zeyl., II, no.5) there is no question of replacement. With this "*sabháye á Meṇṇigamu Udahi*" should be compared "*sabháye Nila-vasa Madiyá*" of Nochchi-potána (*ib.* no.2). The real sense is disclosed in the Vévelṇetiya slab-inscription (*ib.* I, no.21), where we have: "*ek tēn samiye á raj-sabháye hindná Goḷuggamu Raksáim Kudēsenu*." In all these the words "*sabháye á*," "*sabháye*," and "*raj-sabháye hindná*" have the same meaning and indicate that the chief, whose name is so qualified, was a member of the Royal Council.

(3) The expression occurs not only in grants issued by the king, but also in those made by the *mápa* in the Southern Country, as for example in the Négama (Ep. Zeyl. II, no.4) and Dorabáwila pillars.

(4) With the phrase there constantly occurs the word ඉඳු, which is regularly used in Sinhalese in connection with royal persons and Buddhist priests and with no one else. The interpretation put forward by Mr. Wickramasinghe considerably extends the accepted use of this verb and hardly is consonant with the language employed by the chiefs of the Royal Council in Kandyan times with regard to the body of which they were members.

To me (2) by itself seems conclusive against any identification of *ek tēn* with the Royal Council. A solution perhaps is afforded by the analogy of South Indian procedure. There certain officers were sent with

instructions to circumambulate the village or land to be granted and mark the boundaries and carry the royal order into effect. The Sinhalese "one-place-order" (*eka-sthāna-sammata*) thus would be a command to the chiefs named to assemble at the designated village and set up the pillar of immunity, the *attāṇi kaṇu*, "assembly pillar."

A.18,19. *Māyā-rāṭe at-rasun dhura koṭa*. *Māyā-rāṭa* as I have shown in a previous number of this Journal (XXIX No. 75. pp.65, 66), was bounded in the time of Parākrama Báhu I. by the Kalá Oya. Ihala Puliyankulama is situated not far to the south of this river. The reading 𑀕𑀲 is certain; it is not 𑀕𑀳.

A.23,24. The office of "Adhikára" is different from that of "Laṅkādhikára." An examination of the chapters of the *Mohāvamsa* dealing with the reigns of Gaja Báhu and Parākrama Báhu shows that there were a number of "Adhikáras" and apparently two "Adigars of Lanká" The meaning of "Vata-kēmi," more usually "Vat-kēmi," is uncertain; perhaps the officer of the name was employed in financial and revenue work. The Sanskrit equivalent in our text is "Vastu-karṇma."

B.2-8. *Yasa vāde saka paratná piṇisa*. Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, who has been kind enough to assist me in the translation of the second half of the text, suggests: "for the purpose of setting in motion or causing the wheel of the recitals (concerning) the glory (of the king) to revolve," and compares *stuti* with the Indian *praśasti*. It seems clear that the *śloka* in B.9-18 is the *stuti* and that it was composed by the minister himself at the royal command. The expression in the Sanskrit, "(This) was composed in accordance with the order (giving) delight to his heart," finds its

exact parallel in the Sinhalese, “ (This) praise . . was made . . by command of his lord.” What was the verse composed to perpetuate? *Vāda* is “ discourse,” “ speech,” “ assertion,” “ exposition,” and the like. *Vāda-cakra* I take to be analogous to *ajñā-cakra*, which practically implies little more than “ order,” “ command,” and the whole expression *yasa vādē saku paratnā piṇisa* to mean “ in order to perpetuate the assertion or setting forth of the glory,” not of the king, but of the minister himself. In other words the Sanskrit verse and the erection of the pillar were to commemorate the grant of the title “ Terrifier of enemy kings ” and also possibly of the offices mentioned therein to Tisa Māranāvan. The original sense of “ causing the wheel to revolve,” of course, would not be lost sight of by the reader of the inscription.

B.9-18. I am indebted to Mr. Paranavitana for the interpretation of the *śloka* as well as for the reading of භිඤ්ඤා and the restoration of the following word. The text runs thus:—

නිජසාදි මාර සම්මත මනසප්පමාද  
භිඤ්ඤා නිබ්බන්ධන පරාක්ෂමබ්බානු නාමනා  
ශ්‍රී සංසංඛාරා නාමනෙතරස්සකාර වසතු  
කම්මාන්වයෙන පරරාජ භසංකරණ

B.19-24. Mr. Paranavitana points out that the *Elu* verse is that known as *kav-gī*, and quotes in support from the *Elu-Sandeshakūṇa*:—

වසම්භි මත්තෙවෙන්  
දෙසෙත් සෙසෙති දෙසෙකොළොස්  
සතළිස් මතින් බදගොත්  
කවිනම් මෙවේ නිදසුන්

“ If a verse contains 9 or 10 *mātrās* respectively in the odd lines, and in the even lines 10 or 11 respectively, and if it is composed of 40 *mātrās* (in all), it is named *kav-gī*.”

Our verse therefore reads:—

සිරි සඟ බොසිඳු සද  
පදකුළු වදන් වතා  
ලෙසුර බරකින් මිනි  
කත රැළුම් වතා නිසැදි

Mr. Paranavitana points out that the lengthening of the last vowel in *ratá* in the second and fourth line is for the purpose of satisfying the requirements of the metre. But the form *-ratá* for *vat* is found in tenth century inscriptions, e.g., *samvatá*.

B.21 වදන්වතා This may mean “possessed of eloquence,” “mighty in words.” If so, I am not sure that it does not refer to the *ráde saka* declaring Tisa Máranávan’s fame. Mr. Paranavitana, however, proffers “who bears the appellation.”

B.22,23, බරකින් This may come from Sanskrit *ábharāṇa*, “ornament.” Mr. Paranavitana, rightly I think, prefers Sanskrit *bharāṇa*. A king is *Mahī-bharṭṛi* or *mahī-bhṛit* “earth supporter.”

B.23,24. රැළුම්වතා Mr. Paranavitana renders the first word by “support,” “sustaining,” and takes the second as the same as වතා in B.21. I would prefer as the original of රැළුම් the Sanskrit *rañjana*, which has a transitive sense, “gladdening,” and, rather than repeat the meaning of the first වතා, tentatively would make the second a derivative of Sanskrit *vastu*, with the sense “object,” “object of love.” The whole expression would thus be rendered “the object of love who gladdens the Earth goddess.” Mr. Paranavitana’s translation of the Eḷu verse is as follows:—

The Earth goddess is for ever sustained by the protection of the lord of Lánká, Siri Saṅgabó, who bears the appellation of Perēkum.

## TEXT.

- | A                  | B                  |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. ශ්‍රී මහ සමු    | සෑ මාරනාවනෑ        |
| ව ආ රජපර           | සොමි පිටා          |
| පුරෙත් ආ ද         | නෙයන් (බොහො) ක     |
| ස අත්ති            | ලක් කල්ප සී        |
| 5. පතළ යස          | නව යස වාද සක       |
| කිත් තෙද ප         | පවත්නා පිණිස කැර   |
| බඳු ඇති            | වූ මාරන්හැල්ලේ     |
| ආරි රාජ            | හි සතුති (ශ්‍රී—)  |
| වෙය්‍යා භූජ        | නිමසාදි මාර ස      |
| 10. ගයෑ යන         | විවෙන (මනසප්‍ර)    |
| විරුද්ධයන්         | (මො) ද හිඬසා (නි)  |
| වජ්‍යනා සි         | බව්‍යන පරාක්‍ර     |
| රිසගබො පරා         | ම බාහු නාමනා ශ්‍රී |
| ක්‍රම බාහු වත්     | සංඝබොධි නාප        |
| 15. හිමියන්වා      | තෙරසිකාර ව         |
| න්සේව නව           | සතුකම්මානව         |
| වක්‍ර වැපැසුර      | යෙන පරරාජ හ        |
| දිගවැකුමා          | යංකරෙණ ශ්‍රී—      |
| යා රට ඇත්          | සිරි සගබො          |
| 20. වස්සන් ධුරකො   | සිඤ්ඤ සඤ පැ        |
| ට සිරි පරරාජ       | රුකුම් වදන් වතා    |
| හයංකරයැසි          | ලකිසුර බර          |
| විරුද්ධ ඇති අ      | ණින් මිඬිකත රු     |
| සිකාර වත කැ        | ඤ්ඤ වතා නිසැදි     |
| 25. මි දලා සිමි නි |                    |

## TRANSLITERATION.

## A

1. Śrī maha samu-  
va é raja para-  
puren á da-  
sa at-hi
5. pataḷa yasa  
kit teda pa-  
banda eṭi  
Ari-rāja  
yeṣyá bhuja-
10. ngaye yana  
viruduyen  
vajambaná Si-  
ri Saṅgabo Pará-  
krama Báhu vat-
15. himiyanvá-  
nséṭa nava-  
vanu Vepe pura  
diyaveke Má-  
yá raṭe at-
20. vasun dhura ko-  
ṭa siti Pararája-  
bhayaṇ-karayeyi  
virudu eṭi A-  
dhikára Vatake-  
mi Dálá-bim Ti-

## B

se Máranávane  
svámí vidhá-  
nāyen (boho) ka-  
lak kalpa sthi-  
tava yasa váde saka  
pavatná piṇisa keṛe-  
vú Máranhelle-  
hi stuti Śrī—  
Tishyádi-Mára sa-  
civena manas-(pra-)  
(mo)da śiṣṭyá (ni-)  
baddhyata Parákra-  
ma Báhu námnaḥ Śrī  
Saṅghabodhi nṛpa-  
ter-Ādhikára Va-  
stu-karmmahva-  
yena Pararája-bha-  
yaṇ-kareṇa Śrī—  
Siri Saṅgabo-  
yindu sanda Pe-  
ṛekum vadan-vatá  
Lakisura bara-  
ṇin mihikata ṛe-  
ndum vatá niṣēdi







## TRANSLATION

Prosperity! On the second of the waxing moon of Vap in the ninth year of His Majesty Siri Sangabo Parákrama Báhu, lineally descended from Mahá Sammata and other kings, who is possessed of glory, fame, and splendour spread in the ten directions and who is resplendent in the title of "Paramour of the mistresses of hostile kings," (this) praise (inscribed) at Máranhella was made by Dálá-bim Tisa Máranavan, Adhikára minister and Vata-Kémi, who held command of the Máyá Country as of a vessel in his hand and who was surnamed "Terrifier of enemy kings," in order to perpetuate the setting forth of his glory enduring for a *kalpa* cycle, for length of days, by the command of his lord.

Śrí (This) was composed in accordance with the order (giving) delight to his heart by the councillor Tishyádi-Mára, Terrifier of enemy kings, Adhikára minister and Vastukarmma of King Śrí Saṅghabodhi Parákrama Báhu.

Śrí The lord of Laṅká, King Śrí Saṅghabodhi Parákrama, able of speech, ever is he who gladdens the Earth goddess by (his) support.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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**NOTE ON AN IMAGE OBTAINED AT  
SILAVATIPARVATA TEMPLE.**

BY F. LEWIS.

The accompanying plate, prepared under the directions of Mr. Joseph of the Colombo Museum, will illustrate a curious little image that was presented to me by the present incumbent of the Silavatiparvata temple at Moderawana, in the West Giruwa Pattu of the Hambantota District.

In the course of my work in the Southern Province, I had occasion to inspect certain lands at Moderawana, and while so doing, I took the opportunity of climbing up the splendid rock which bears the name given above.

It is quite close to the famous Mulkirigala rock—pronounced by the Priests Mulgirigala—to the westward of it, and considerably lower in point of altitude, but it covers a much larger area than the rock to which the Dutch gave the misleading title of Adam's Berg.

On three sides, this immense rock is more or less precipitous, while on the remaining side the slope though considerable, is not so steep as to make the ascent to the summit difficult.

From a distance, the rock stands out like a huge wedge of stone, towering above the fields and gardens in the vicinity, and is capped by a Dágaba, and a separate tower of unique design.

According to certain traditions, the Priests of Mulgirigala were of a different sect to those of the mountain now under reference, and there was considerable bitterness between the rival sects, with the result that Silavati came to be neglected and fell into such a condition of disrepair as to become little better than a jungle-covered hill-top, within which rested some ruins, venerated only for the sake of their traditions and antiquity.

Which of these two points—Mulgirigala or Silavati—is entitled to claim priority of antiquity, or of reverence, I am not in a position to say, nor have I been able to discover at what date the two flourished in equal splendour as places of worship. Be that as it may, it is worthy of note, that both have inscriptions in ancient "rock letters."

I attempted to copy the inscription I found at Silavati, but so much of the rock being decayed, I was only able to get imperfect outlines of portions of the individual letters themselves.

The present temple, which stands on a ledge near the summit of Silavatiparvata, is a reconstructed building, and forms both the temple, as well as the residence of a Siamese Priest, to whom I am indebted for the little image here illustrated.

My visit to this revered gentleman may be worth describing. On my arrival at the top of the rock, I was met by a tiny boy of 10 years of age, from whom I enquired if the Priest was at home. The little fellow ran off, and quickly returned to inform me that the "Siyam Hamuduruvo" was in, and would be glad if I would enter.

On going into a rather large room, that was curiously draped, I first noticed the sound of ticking, from at least a dozen clocks, all going at the same time. In one corner, seated on a low bed, was the Priest, who seemed at first to eye me with some suspicion, but on hearing me speak to him in Sinhalese, his doubts appeared to vanish instantly. He asked me very politely to be seated, and wished to know if I was alone, or if there were others with me.

On my informing him that I was quite alone, and that I would be glad if I might go round the temple, his interests appeared to brighten up greatly, and he made the interesting remark that I was the only white man he had seen at that spot since he came to reside there, many years previously. So much had his suspicions given way to feelings of trust, that he voluntarily invited me to enter the "Dewale" where he said he could show me some objects of very great

curiosity. I accordingly entered the image room with him, the Priest taking special care to close the door after we had entered. Here I found on a table much like an ordinary office table, a glass cabinet, divided into three compartments ; the central, or largest of which, contained a number of figures of Buddha ; some of brass, some of bronze, and of other materials as well. From their design, most of these appeared to me to be non-Ceylonese in appearance, though they assumed the usual conventional attitudes.

One of the side compartments of the cabinet contained a silver Dágaba, with carved tracery round the cylinders, and below the finial, which last had silver miniature Bô' leaves displayed near its summit.

My companion now removed this from its place and proceeded to unscrew the cupola, which when removed disclosed an inner cupola of glass, that formed a dome over an expanded lotus flower made of gold. From the centre of the flower, a looped and twisted crook-like wire protruded. Taking another ivory dagoba in his hand, and once more unscrewing its cupola the Priest withdrew a small parcel, which he carefully unwound. This proved to be the envelope enclosing an exact copy of the Sacred tooth, now in the Máligáwa at Kandy. This he next inserted into the loop I have just mentioned, and the Priest exclaimed, " there is an exact copy of what is in the great Kandy Temple."

The material from which this " copy tooth " was made, is obviously ivory, but I noticed when the Priest drew my attention to it, that it had peculiar shades of colour, varying from a dull creamy white to a delicate chocolate brown tint according to the position it was viewed from. My companion explained that this variation of colour was produced by the stain given to the ivory by long and constant *hand* rubbing, after it had been made, adding that he had taken a precise scale copy from the venerated original at Kandy, and had made this imitation himself, after long and laborious labour in carving and cutting a piece of ivory till it corresponded exactly in shape, size and details.

But this remarkable piece of work was not the last of his traverses. He next withdrew from a sacred Dāgaba-shaped casket, a small ivory box, highly polished and neatly made. This he unscrewed, disclosing on a bedding of plush, a minute stone, approximately  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an inch across its longest diameter. This stone was obviously a bead of a pale hyacinth colour, slightly opalescent, and pearly in its gloss. The Priest handled this with much reverence, and informed me in a hushed voice that it was a most holy thing that he held, and one that was beyond price, as it was a bead from a necklace worn by the great teacher of the Buddhist faith himself. He added, that after the old Dāgaba at Silavati had fallen into ruins, an attempt had been made by thieves to find the *Karanduwa pettiya*, that the Dāgaba was known to cover, but this had escaped detection, owing to the fact that a deep cavity had been cut into the rock under the foundations for the Dāgaba. Into that cavity the *Karanduwa pettiya* had been introduced and covered by a stone made to fit exactly to the rock that held it.

This covering stone had escaped removal, till the Priest began the reconstruction work, when he found it, and had it raised, disclosing this treasure box, though the latter was found to be splintered.

I did not, of course, question the proofs that this bead was actually one worn by the great sage, nor did I venture to handle it—an attention that my companion obviously appreciated.

He next conducted me round the various buildings that he had rebuilt, and particularly showed me the tower he had constructed to his own design, that stands near the rebuilt dāgaba.

This is of neat design, but its curious ornamentation with plates, gives it a rather quaint appearance.

The Priest next explained that he came over to Ceylon as a pilgrim, not knowing a word of Sinhalese, and that he wandered about at Anuradhapura and other sacred places,

but hearing of Silavati in its fallen glory he had elected to settle there and devote his days to its renovation.

He had taught himself, not only to speak, but to read and write the language of the country, and at the same time by personal appeal to obtain funds to carry out the work of restoration that he showed to me with such justifiable pride.

In his self-imposed solitude, he had to contend with repeated attacks of fever, and he added, with evil spirits that he had sought to destroy him. These had visited him in many forms : sometimes they came in the shape of wild beasts, at others as devils, and at still others as figures who tried to frighten him by making fearful noises. At last, his enemies finding they could not dislodge him by these manifestations, set fire to the brushwood round the temple, and he was all but burned to death. By this fire he lost most of his possessions, some of his images being destroyed by the flames. One in particular had been partly melted by the fire, but as it fell into a crevice in the rock, the greater part of it had been saved. This particular image he desired to present me with in return, he added, for the honour I had done him in coming to see him as no other white man had done.

This interesting man could give me no name for the image, and appeared unable to say if it was the image of God or of a king, but he appeared to attribute its escape from the flames to special virtues in itself.

He gave no name to the image, and appeared to regard it as of minor value, except that it represented a venerated figure.

Its workmanship and general outlines are so unlike Ceylonese work that I think it may be safely supposed to be an importation and that it does not represent any particular God, but more probably represents a prince.







A comparison with the stone figure at Weligama that is popularly reputed to be a statue of Kusta Raja, might throw some light on the subject, and might be of special interest.

F. LEWIS.

5th August, 1920.

*P.S.*—Since writing the foregoing, I made a second visit to Silavati, with the intention of presenting my kind friend with a small souvenir in return for his generosity. I found that he had left, and I was informed that he had designed to return to his native country after paying a visit to Anuradhapura, but he had fallen ill and died. I could get no particulars of the cause of his illness, nor the date nor place where he died.

He was deeply respected by the people, who in conversation referred to the deceased Priest as a man of great learning, piety, and goodness. I should guess him to have been about 45 years of age, 17 of which he informed me had been spent on this lonely rock.—F.L.



# JOURNAL

OF THE

## CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

### 1927.

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### VOLUME XXX

#### No. 80—Parts I, II, III and IV.

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**The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries  
into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts,  
Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and  
former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.**

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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.



### NOTE:—

Contrary to general practice the Report of the Society for 1927 is this year being printed with the Journal for 1927. It is thought that members will appreciate the publication of the Report a year earlier than has hitherto been the practice.

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1927.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1927.

### MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 13th May, 1927 when the Annual Report and a paper entitled "The Log Book of Admiral Baillie de Suffren" by Mr. A. W. Seymour C.C.S., together with notes by Mr. L. J. B. Turner M.A., C.C.S., were read. At a General Meeting held on the 26th March, 1927, the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva read a paper on "The Sinhalese Vittipot (Book of Incidents) and Kadaimpot (Books of Division Boundaries). and at the General Meeting on the 28th November, 1927, a paper on "Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the mediaeval age" by Mr. R. C. Proctor, was read.

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXX No. 79, 1926 was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the Meetings, the following papers and notes, *viz* :—

- i. The Danes in Ceylon, by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S.
- ii. Sinhalese Magic and Spells, by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva
- iii. Extracts from the—Dag Registers of Batavia, translated into English and compiled by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P.
- iv. Excerpta Maldiviana by Mr. H. C. P. Bell C.C.S. (Retired).
- v. The Ihala Puliyankulama Pillar, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
- vi. Note on an Image obtained at Silavati Parvata Temple by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

## MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 392 members, of whom 53 are Life Members and 7 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 21 members were elected, *viz* :—Mr. K. K. D. E. B. Adikaram, B.A. (Lond.), Rev. Wilamune Sri Dharmakeerthi Thera, Mrs. Lucy A. Dulling, Messrs. A. GnanaPrakasam B.A. (Lond.), W. R. Hancock, C. P. Jayawardana, B. A. (Oxon.), the Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannan-gara, Messrs. A. Mamujee, C. A. Marasingha, S. Paranavitana, S. Pathmanathan, S. E. A. Perera, W. W. A. Phillips, A. Ratnayaka, B.A. (Lond.), V. S. Rogers, R. Sabanayagam, Dr. Paul Schwarz, Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero M.A. (Cal.), Messrs. K. S. Tillakaratna, C. Wickramaratna, and N. Wickramaratna, Mudaliyar.

The membership of Mr. Siegmund Freudenberg was renewed.

## DEATHS.

The Council records with regret the deaths of the Hon. Mr. A. St. V. Jayewardene, Sir Amblavanar Kanagasabai, Kt., and the Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt.

Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., died in the latter part of this year. He joined the Society in 1888 and became a life member in 1913. He was a Vice-President from 1911 to 1915 and prior to his being elected to that office he was on the Council for many years. He took a keen interest in the Society and took part in its proceedings. At a Council Meeting held on the 19th October, 1927, the following resolution was passed:—

“Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of Sir Christoffel's family.”

### RESIGNATIONS.

Messrs R. B. Naish and L. D. C. Hughes, both of the Ceylon Civil Service, resigned their membership.

### PATRON

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford G.C.M.G., G.B.E., Patron of the Society, left the Island on May 28th, 1927, to assume the Governorship of the Straits Settlements. Sir Hugh Clifford was President from 1900 to 1912 and Patron from 1925 to 1927. He was present at all meetings held, whilst he held the office of Patron, and always showed the greatest interest in the work of the Society. The Council are glad to record that His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley kindly consented to succeed him.

### COUNCIL.

Under Rule 20 Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and Dr. S. C. Paul retired by seniority and Dr. J. Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, Dr. J. Pearson and Dr. S. C. Paul were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by the election of Dr. A. Nell and Prof. R. Marrs.

### LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 124. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges, viz:—



The Geological Society, London; The Smithsonian Institute; The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; The Asiatic Society, Bengal; The Asiatic Society, Bombay; The Royal Colonial Institute; l'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient, Hanoi; and Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

For donations to the following, *viz* :—The Archaeological Survey of India; Archaeological Survey of Burma; The Government of India; The Director, Colombo Museum; The Archaeological Survey, Ceylon. Prof. W. Geiger, and Mr. H. T. Ramachandra.

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1927.

The Archaeological Commissoner has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following summary of the work done by his Department in 1927 :—

#### **Archaeological Summary.**

##### *Research.*

#### (1) EXCAVATION.

The excavations at Mantai (Mahātittha) were continued in May and June. We were able to double the forces and the time, but the progress made is still unsatisfactory owing to the inadequate supply of carts for the removal of spoil earth. Up to the present there has been no perceptible change in the nature of the materials brought up. The real interest will begin when changes become evident. From the coins found it appears that we have now got down to about the XIIIth century, or possibly the XIIth. It is impossible to be very definite till the next strata have been worked. Work has been started on the classification of the materials obtained. The poor character of Ceylon pottery makes this no easy task: very few whole pots are found and we are dependent chiefly on vast quantities of potsherds. There is a considerable amount of Chinese pottery. The plan of the building uncovered near the surface has been worked out: it turns out to be a building very much on the lines of the Temple of the Tooth but in miniature. This tends to show that the Tamil domination had not such

profound influence as is usually imagined. The people carried on much in the same way whoever was king. Unfortunately, it is built out of materials taken from earlier structures so that below hardly any architectural remains are found. Even at this early stage however we feel that we have now one foot on solid ground dealing with antiquities, instead of floundering in uncertainty.

## (2) EXPLORATION.

During August a tour was undertaken of the various sites that had been brought to our notice during the year. Of these Buduruvagala near Vāllavāya in the Uva Province and Magul Mahāvihāra near Pottuvil in the Eastern Province are of more than usual interest, for it is fairly certain from the little that is exposed that it is an early Gupta site, and such a site must fill a great gap in our knowledge. It is proposed to make rough soundings this year. As, unfortunately it has been partly occupied already by a restoration society, I should be much obliged if members of the Society would keep a good lookout for sites of the same period. The well-known man and woman at Issurumuniya are typical of the style. At the former place there is a group of colossal statues consisting of a Buddha flanked by Bodhisattvas. At the latter place a guardstone of a new type has been noticed. In spite of propaganda we receive very little help from outside. I have just heard of a find in Jaffna which has been sent to Cambridge. Roman Coins found in Ceylon are of no interest to Cambridge men who have nothing to learn about Roman coins and know nothing about Ceylon. Such coins are only of interest if taken in conjunction with the objects they accompanied. Only an archaeologist who has local experience can extract information from such finds. Members of the Society would render a good service to Archaeology in Ceylon, if they would tell all finders: "Leave the things where they are, and inform the Archaeological Commissioner, so that he may come and see them before they are removed. Once removed they are useless."

## (3) EPIGRAPHY.

Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasingha, the Ceylon Government Epigraphist in London has brought out Vol. II part 6 of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. This part deals with three inscriptions ; namely.

Slab Inscriptions of the Velaikkāras, Polonnaruva  
Gal Vihara Rock Inscription of Parakramabahu I,  
Polonnaruva

Gal Āsana Inscription of Nissanka Malla from Kantalai.

Vol. III part 2 will be edited by this department, and the manuscript has been already sent to the press. Among the new incriptions brought to light this year, the following are worthy of note :—

- (1) Rock Inscription from Kuccaveli, Trincomalie District, dating from about the 7th century, is the earliest Sanscrit record known in Ceylon.
- (2) Two duplicate inscriptions of Nissanka Malla on league stones found at Kaṭugahagalge and Yudan-ganāva, are of interest in tracing the Ruhuna-Polonnaruva road.
- (3) A rock inscription from Monaragala in the Uva Province mentioning the name of King Mahānāma.

## (4) OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

The third part of the first volume of the Ceylon Journal of Science (Section G) appeared in January 1927. The Archaeological Summary among other things attempts to clear up the Chronology of Ceylon sculpture which has hitherto been in a most unsatisfactory state. It also contains articles on the Origin of the Tope, the Four Quarters, the Temptation, the Throne in Indian Art, the Divinity of the Gaest and Two Vedic Hymns.

The Memoir on the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy has been completed. The work was not undertaken any too early as the temple is about to be rebuilt or modified, and thus one of the last representatives of the old style will disappear except in the plans of the Archaeological Survey. Prof. Geiger is specially interested in the work, as it opens

new ground, and is impatient for its appearance. Unfortunately no satisfactory arrangements have so far been made for publication, through causes over which the Department has no control.

### THE ALUVIHARA EDITION OF THE PALI CLASSICS

The work on the Papan̄a Sūdanī Part II which is being edited by Rev. L. Sri Dhammānanda Nāyaka Thero was not finally completed as was expected, but is now drawing to a close. Very little remains to be done, and it is hoped that the book will be issued during the course of the year.

The Samanta Pāsādikā, Commentary on the Vinaya has been entrusted to the Rev. Kahawe Ratanasāra, Nāyaka Thero, Principal, Vidyodaya Oriental College, Māligākanda, and the work is progressing.

### CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

It was stated in the last year's report that the Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, President of this Society, had corresponded on the subject with the British Legation at Peking, and arrangement had been made for the translation of the references to Ceylon. The following references, which were received before the close of the year, and those that have historical interest, will be published in the Journal in due course :—

- i. From the "Records of Aborigines" First Volume by Chao Ru K'oh, of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1126). The Kingdom of Lan Wu Li.
- ii. From the Hsiao Fang Hu Chai Geography. Wonderful Narratives of Travel by Sea Section II-I by Wang Teh Yi.
- iii. From the Hsiao Fang Hu Chai Geography. Selected facts relating to the Ocean or Overseas. Section II-6 by Yuan Tsu Chih, of Ch'ien T'ang (in Cheh-kiang Province).
- iv. From the Hsiao Fang Hu Chai Geography. On Islands, Section 10-6. By Wang Ta Hai, of Chang Chaw.

- v. Extract given in the fuller texts taken from the T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng (No translation).
- vi. A contribution to a Geographical Compendium called Hsiao Fang Hu Chai Geography, giving some details of modern Ceylon (Text only).
- vii. The Kingdom of San Foh Ch'i called by the natives P'o Lin Pang—Palembang.
- viii. From an illustrated Collection of Reprints called the T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng. Vol. 90, "Records of the Frontiers." Section on Ceylon, called in former times Lang Ya Hsiu. Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502-556).

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. E. S. Bennett, of the British Legation at Peking for arranging and to Mr. A. H. Bridge of Tientsin, for making the translations.

#### THE ETYMOLOGICAL SINHALESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

The Editor-in-chief has favoured the Council with the following summary of the work done during the year 1927 :—

"1. The first quarter—April to June—was for the most part devoted to the organisation of the necessary machinery for collecting words. For this purpose, it was decided, after consideration, to use printed forms of two kinds—one for collecting words occurring in books and the other for words in common use or in connection with arts, crafts, games etc., which are not found in books.

2. At the same time a fairly complete list of books, both printed and in manuscript, was prepared. As soon as the printed forms were available the members of the office staff were set to the task of indexing books assigned to them. An endeavour was also made by personal visits and correspondence to secure the co-operation of other competent scholars in this important preliminary work. This effort was, I am glad to say, successful. 53 scholars, the majority of whom are Bhikkhus, including the Principals and tutors of almost all the leading Pirivenas, kindly undertook to help us, and 61 works of importance have been entrusted to

them. Of these, 11 have already been indexed. The number of books indexed by the office staff totals 290. These vary in size and importance. It must be noted that, in order to make the Dictionary as comprehensive as possible, we are indexing not only books of literary importance but other books as well which have no intrinsic value.

Special attention was also paid to the collecting of words that have come to the language from Christian sources. A number of important Christian books, including the well-known writings of the Rev. Fr. Jacome Gonsalvesz are being indexed by a competent Christian scholar.

3. In the original programme of work I submitted to the Society in October 1926, I referred to the difficulty of collecting words not found in books. I am glad, however, to say that our efforts to overcome this difficulty have been fairly successful. As I expected, many readily volunteered to collect words in different parts of the country; and to encourage others the Managing Committee sanctioned in last July a scheme for a prize-competition. No less than 300 entered the competition. Of these 195 sent in their collections on the 31st of December when the competition closed. 14,100 forms were issued during the year both to volunteers and competitors. Of these 10,100 have been returned. Until the lists are carefully scrutinized and repetitions eliminated, it is not possible to indicate the actual number of words that will be finally available. I am, however, confident that the output will not be disappointing. The editors are engaged in examining the collections returned by the competitors; and I hope to be in a position to announce the awards before the end of March.

4. As the preliminary work of collecting words is expected to be completed in the course of this year, the time has come to deal with the material that is steadily accumulating in this office, preparatory to the next stage of our work. For this purpose I have arranged to transfer words collected from different sources on to cards of small size so that they may be arranged alphabetically and the repetitions sifted out. This part of the work will be carried out by the editorial staff during the current year. The

progress made so far justifies the hope that it may be possible to complete the preliminary task of collecting and arranging the rough material within the time prescribed in my original programme, namely, two years from the commencement of the work.

5. Our efforts to secure the loan of old unpublished manuscripts, such as, *Sannasas*, *Sittus* etc., I regret to say, have not proved successful, I have, however, discovered in the Record Room of the Registrar-General's Office a large collection of old documents which can be of great use to us. With the permission of the Government I have begun to index these valuable records.

6. The lack of suitable editions even of important classical books have considerably added to the difficulties of our task. I have been obliged therefore to undertake the revision of two books of first rate importance, namely, the *Dampiyā Aṭṭva Geṭa Padaya* and *Saddharma Ratnavaliya*, which are now going through the press."

### THE MAHAVAMSA ṬĪKĀ.

The question of issuing a new edition of the *Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā* was raised by the Archaeological Commissioner and was referred by Government to the Council for their views.

The Council suggested that Government should arrange for the publication of an annotated edition of the *Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā* in Pali, on the same line as the *Mahāvamsa*. It was further recommended that as the edition in Sinhalese script is out of print, it would be desirable, if arrangements for its publication in Pali as suggested above were made with a time limit, for its publication.

It is understood that the work of editing has been entrusted to Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Rev. Rambukwelle Siddhartha Thero of the Ceylon University College.

### THE CULAVAMSA.

The question of translating the *Culavamsa* was first raised in 1906, when it was decided to entrust Prof. Geiger of Erlangen University with the task of editing the text of the work and translating it. Difficulties however arose with regard to the text, and it was only in 1913 that the

collation of the existing sources was possible through the kind loan by the Government of Burma of 13 books of manuscript. These books were sent to Dr. Geiger through the late Dr. Rhys-Davids, President of the Pali Text Society, but the work was again interrupted by the War. The matter was finally revived in 1921 through the intermediacy of the Pali Text Society, and Vol. 1 of the Culavamsa was at length published towards the close of 1925, the impression consisting of 500 copies. Meanwhile it was decided that Dr. Geiger should visit Ceylon in order to collate his material for Vol. 2. He arrived in Ceylon in December 1925 and was able to complete the work. 500 copies of the 2nd volume of the text have just been printed by the Munich Academy Press, but no copies have yet been received locally.

The translation of the Culavamsa has not yet been printed. It is understood that the translation of Vol. 1 by Dr. Geiger is ready for the printer.

#### FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 4360.16 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 51,201.69 and expenditure was Rs. 50,108.80.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 806.55 and Rs. 1971.79 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for auditing the Society's accounts.

Subscriptions still come in very slowly and the Council must once again appeal to members to pay promptly. The activities of a Society like this cannot be carried on properly unless the members give their support to the officers.

#### ACCOMMODATION.

The library is full to overflowing and anything like systematic arrangement or logical classification is quite impossible. It is hoped that when the new west wing of the Museum, which has at last been sanctioned, is ready, liberal provision will be made for the Society's library.



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**Audited and found correct:**  
(Signed) HERBERT T. WILSON, Esq.  
204 North 19th St.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
Dec. 11, 1927.

Small (pounds)



*Honorary Treasurer,*  
Royal Asiatic Society, (Ceylon Branch)



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 2nd, 1927.*

Present:

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.).

Vice-President (in the Chair.)

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva  
 Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar  
 Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekera  
 Mudaliyar  
 Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana Gate  
 Mudaliyar

Mr. A. M. Hocart  
 The Hon. Mr. Edward W.  
 Perera  
 Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
 C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
 Honorary Secretaries.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 1st. December, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The following were elected members of the Society:—K. K. D. E. B. Adikaram, B.A. (Lond.), Christopher Perera Jayawardana, Mrs. Lucy A. Dulling, Victor Samuel Rogers, Rasanayagam Sabanayagam, Sangarapillai Pathmanathan and S. Eugene Alexander Perera.

3. A report on "the Old Water Colour Drawings of Kandy" by Mr. H. W. Codrington was read.

Resolved that the purchase of the sketches only be recommended, and that arrangements be made to photograph the water colour drawings.

4. The views of the Society's Council regarding the proposed edition of the Mahāvamsa Tikā were obtained.

Resolved that Government be asked to arrange for the publication of an annotated edition of the Mahāvamsa Tikā in Pali, on the same lines as the Mahāvamsa. It was further recommended that Government should be advised that the Sinhalese edition of the Mahāvamsa Tikā is out of print, and that it would be desirable, if arrangements for its publication in Pali as suggested above are approved, there should be a time limit for its publication.

5. A list of members who were in arrears of subscription was laid on the table.

Decided that the matter be left in the hands of the Treasurer and the Secretaries.

6. A programme of meetings for 1927 was laid on the table and was approved generally, the details being left to the Secretary.

7. A paper entitled "Sinhalese Vittipot," (Books of Incidents) and Kaḍampot (Books of Division Boundaries) by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, was laid on the table together with a report of the sub-Committee consisting of Mr. L. J. B. Turner, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. C. H. Collins.

It was resolved that the paper be accepted for reading and publication, and that this be read at the next meeting of the Society, and that arrangements for the meeting be left in the hands of the Honorary Secretary.

8. A paper on "Sinhalese Blood Games and Allied Sports" by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, was laid on the table.

Resolved that the paper be referred to the Sub-Committee with Dr. Pearson for favour of their opinion as to whether the paper be accepted by the Society for reading at a General Meeting and publication in the journal.

9. The question of opening a new account in the bank for the Sinhalese Dictionary Managing Committee and how it is to be operated on, was considered.

Resolved that (a) the Honorary Treasurer of this Society should receive the Grant from Government towards the compilation of the Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language and that he should pay the amount to the Chairman, Dictionary Managing Committee, and obtain a receipt; (b) that the Bankers be asked to open a new account to be called "Royal Asiatic Society Sinhalese Dictionary Fund" to be operated by the Chairman, Dictionary Managing Committee or by Mr. C. H. Collins.

10. Read letters from the President of this Society and Mr. H. Fox and Mr. E. Bennett of the British Legation, Peking, on the subject of Chinese References to Ceylon, stating that Sir E. Backhouse is willing to undertake the translation of the passages for twelve guineas. The Council considered that the offer was a very generous one, and resolved that it be accepted with appreciation.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 26, 1927.*

Present :

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G C M.G , G.B.E.,  
Patron (in the chair )

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G , President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala,  
Muhandiram

Mr. P. M. A. Corea

Mr. J. W. de Alwis

Mr. C. Hubert de Mel

Mr. W. D. de Zoysa

Mrs. H. H. Dulling

Mr. D. E. P. Hettiaratchi

Mr. A. E. Jayasinha

Mr. L. P. Jayasuriya

Mr. A. de S. Kanakaratna

Mr. A. Mendis

Mr. G. C. Mendis, B.A. (Lond )

Mr. Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. T. D. Perera, LL.B., C C S.

Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar

Dr. A. Rajasingham

Mr. H. T. Ramachandra

Mr. R. Sabanayagam

Mr. Francis T. Senaviratna

Mr. B. L. Sarnelis Silva

Mr. C. Suppramaniam

Mr. D. F. Suraweera

Mr. F. A. Tissavarasinghe

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. A. Wijayasekara

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C C S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 4 gentlemen and 3 ladies.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last general meeting held on 2nd July, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, who read the following paper entitled "The Sinhalese Vittipot (Books of Incidents) and Kaḍampot (Books of Division Boundaries)."

**SINHALESE VITTIPOṬ (BOOKS OF INCIDENTS)  
AND  
KAḍAIMPOṬ (BOOKS OF DIVISION BOUND-  
ARIES.)**

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By THE HON. MR. W. A. DE SILVA.

There is a large number of palm leaf manuscripts in the villages of North-Western and North-Central Provinces known as Vittipot and Kaḍaimpot. The manuscripts are preserved by individuals and families as heirlooms of their former prosperity and the land and status held by their ancestors. A large number of these books has disappeared, having been secured by collectors who have taken them away from the Island. A small number is still in the possession of the villagers. Some of the books have been collected and preserved in the Colombo Museum Library and a few have been recently printed by private collectors. The books are written in colloquial Sinhalese. They record traditional accounts of royal personages, chiefs and others who have performed distinguished services either as ministers, warriors, scholars or artizans. Incidentally they give accounts of invasions and wars, the building of temples, tanks, canals, wells, bridges, and roads and the founding of towns and cities. They give the traditional accounts of the origin of the universe, the evolution of the earth and its inhabitants, the division of the surface of the earth and oceans and descriptions of rivers, mountains and lakes.

They also give the origin of kingship and the lines of kings from pre-historic times, leading to incidents and origin of the peopling of this Island, its line of kings and the divisions to which the Island has been divided from time to time : its districts, towns, villages, and the origin of these



divisions, with the natural features and the character of inhabitants living in such divisions, and an account of boundaries and landmarks.

The following is a list of Vittipot and Kaḍaimpot available :-

### Colombo Museum Library.

Z12 :—Labelled Kurunegala Vistaraya is a Kaḍaimpota which incidentally gives an account of the foundation of Kurunāgala. It should be labelled Kaḍaimpota and not Kurunāgala Vistaraya (Palm leaf manuscript. 16 leaves each 18 inches in length. 32 pages of 8 lines in each page.)

The book gives an account of traditional kings of the world bringing the account to the occupation of Ceylon by Prince Vijaya, of the foundation of Kurunāgala followed by a list of divisions of the Island with boundaries, and a list of names of some of the chiefs with the lands occupied by them.

Q1 :—Merata Kaḍaimpota (Book of boundaries of this country) 9 leaves, 24 inches each, containing 17 pages of 8 lines each. It starts with an account of Rāvaṇā, the submergence of a part of Laṅkā by the sea : some of the divisions of India and a description of the divisions in Ceylon with boundaries, landmarks etc. are also given.

V10 :—Kaḍaimpota. This is similar to Z10 labelled Kurunāgala Vistaraya.

N15 :—Kaḍaimpota. 45 leaves 18 inches length, 89 pages of 7 lines in each. This gives a fairly long account of the various divisions and their boundaries.

M12 :—Labelled Kaḍaimpota, the manuscript gives it the title Milindu tarkaya hā Sirilakarata Kaḍawasam-ayuru. Contains 31 leaves, 12 inches long, 62 pages of 7 lines to a page.

AS9 :—Kaḍaimpota, 8 leaves of 12 inches. 14 pages. 8 lines to a page. The book states that it is an entry from the Mahālekam miṭṭiya (State records) written by Niyarapola Alahakon Mohottāla at the command of King Raja Singha, giving the four boundaries of Mātale Dīsa. It also gives an account of an expedition to Trincomalie and also the names of Envoys sent to the Dutch at Batavia

The manuscript is copied from a book belonging to Inavala Pahala Walauwa Mudiyanse of Inavala Korle of Matale North.

R2 is labelled Kurupāgala Vistaraya and Vaduru lakṣaṇaya. The MS actually contains :—

- (a) Maliyamahāpāya Vistara Kathāva (Descriptive story of Maliyamahāpāya.
- (b) Lokotpattiya. (Evolution of the worlds.)
- (c) Sulu Bodhivaṇṣaya. Smaller history of the Bodhi-tree.
- (d) Malala Vistaraya. (Story of the arrival of Malala Princes.)
- (e) Yāpahu Vistaraya. (Account of Yapahuva.)
- (f) Vaduru Lakṣaṇaya. (Signs etc., of buried treasures)

contains 100 leaves of 14 inches. 200 pages of 8 lines.

A well-written MS. full of interesting material.

O6.—Vittipota and Malala Kathāva.—32 leaves. 12 inches. 64 pages of 9 lines. This manuscript has many details regarding the Puttalam District and accounts of invasions and settlements.

Z11.—Kadainpota. 24 leaves. 12 inches. 48 pages of 6 lines each. Contains a description of the boundaries and divisions of Laṅkā.

AJ 11.—Vittipota. 34 leaves. 12 inches. 67 pages of 6 lines to a page. Gives accounts of invasions, settlements and incidents.

### **Palm Leaf MSS. in the British Museum.**

Wickramasinghe's catalogue (1900) gives the following viz :—

No. 71—foll 1—10b catalogue page 78.  
Bamba Utpattiya or Jaganananda Katha Vastuva.  
(Account of the origin of the universe and its living beings.)

No. 74 Vittipota foll 31 ; 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ , 6-9 lines from MS lent by Munnankulame Mudiyanse of the Wannī District, North-Western Province. Account of Ceylon Kāka Mukkara invasion, origin of Vanni Bandara family etc.

No. 74a. From Kurunāgala District. Named Buddha Rajavaliya. Planting of Bodhi-tree at Anuradhapura. Invasion of Kāka Mukkara. The arrival and settlement in the Wannī District of certain Malalas of South India. Enumeration of titles. Record of the extent of rice lands, the height of water and the number of sluices in the tanks.

No. 75. Account of some families in the North-Western and North-Central Provinces, descending from Tamil Uḍayas who had come from South India.

No. 76. Account of Baṇḍāra and Malala families and the lands bestowed on them.

No. 76 ii. The old boundaries of Mātale Disawa.

No. 76 iii. Sirilaka Kaḍayuru. Boundary book and the Political Divisions of Ceylon about the 14th century.

No. 76A i Kurunāgala Vistaraya.—The description of Kurunāgala, its fauna and flora, its temples, palaces, fortresses and other buildings, its lakes, ponds and wells, the royal and other villages as well as rice fields set apart for its upkeep. The number of fields in the three ancient divisions of the Island, genealogy of kings etc.

Yāpā Nuvara Vistaraya.

76A ii. Building of Panduvas Nuwara. Arrival of Malala King from India. Account of Queen Paṇḍuwasdewa and her six brothers, description of Yāpahuwa.

76A iii. Gives an account of Gaja Bāhu, his fortress Beligal Nuvara and Senkaḍagala Sirivardhanapura.

76 (b) Collection of quatrains, most of which record dates of historical events from 16th century up to British Invasion of Kandy.

**Printed Book Edited by A. J. W.**

**Marambe, Rate Mahatmaya.**

(Lankapradipa Press, Kandy, Roy Octav. pp. 87)

The volume contains the texts of ten manuscripts collected by the Editor.

1. Kaḍaim and Vitti—Division of the Island and account of various families pp. 1-9.

2. Aṣṭa vinsatiraṭa.—Twenty-eight divisions. Descriptions of Divisions of Maya Raṭa pp. 10-17.

3. Anarga vittiyak. (An important narrative). Gives an account of the descent of King Vijaya and descriptions of various divisions and an account of families in such divisions pp. 18-23.

4. Vanni Vittiya. Account of the occupation of Vanni and the settlement of Malala Princes. Account of fields, tanks and wells situated in the districts pp. 24-37.

5. Paṇḍuvas Nuwara. Vararājagotraya and Manurājāvansaya. pp. 38-39. Founding of Panduwasnuwara. Earlier settlement under Manu Dynasty. Account of the genealogy of Rāvaṇā and the arrival of Prince Vijaya.

6. Kuveni Vilapāya. Lamentation of Kuveni. p. 40.

7. Hatara Korle Kaḍaim. The boundaries of the divisions of Four Korles given in verses. pp. 40-43.

8. Hatara Korle Nānāyakkāra Vittiya. List of 942 names of inhabitants of Four Korles subject to the King's service. pp. 44-67.

9. Madurāpuren a Vittiya. Narrative of arrivals from Madura. Arrival of Tamil queens during King Narendra Singha's reign, and the advent of Wadugas and Telugus during the subsequent periods. pp 68-73.

10. Yāpahu and Kuruṇāgala Vistaraya. Description of Kuruṇāgala, Yāpahu Tammanna, Panduvasnuwara, Muṇḍakondapola, Dambadeniya, Beligala, Senkaḍagala etc. pp. 74-87.

### Translations.

A Kaḍaimpoṭa has been translated into English and published in the "Taprobanian" June 1888, page 55 by Hugh Nevill, giving the boundaries of the divisions of Ceylon and those of the sub-divisions.

Modder gives a translation of a short description of Yāpahuva from a Yāpahu Vistaraya in a paper published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal Vol. XIII. No. 44.

Very little of the contents of Kaḍaimpot and Vittipot has been translated into English. The books have not been read as widely as they ought to be even in their originals much less studied critically. The books however, are dear to those who live far away in the jungle tracts and hamlets. Many a manuscript is still preserved with loving care, wrapped in cotton rags, stowed away in wooden chests in the little houses of those who live a hard life, struggling for their very existence with disease, scanty food, wild animals and the so-called civilized man who daily presses him harder and harder and who often fails to look on him as his own brother. It is not strange that people who possess these old-world narratives of their past triumphs and defeats, successes and failures and the record of the deeds of their ancestors, prize them above everything else. The books are opened and frequently read and recited to the delight of the village folk, both old and young and they live once more in wonder and awe among the memories of their own folk. Many books have been parted with, some to oblige those who are in high places and others reluctantly exchanged for money. What we find in the few books that are accessible to us is absorbingly interesting and one can imagine the wealth of narrative that still remains to be unearthed.

I shall give here a few extracts gleaned from the manuscripts, a list of which I have given above. No attempt is made here to translate any of the works as a whole. That task will be however more than fully worth the effort and the time and trouble it will entail. The object of the present paper is to create an interest in these historical records and give a glimpse of what they contain. I propose to divide the contents of these works into some well-defined stages in the course of which I am aware the beauty of the natural flow of ideas and the simplicity of narration which give a soul to what is related will hardly appear. The language in which the books are written is natural and is as varied as to be expected in such books. There is the mixed old classical style in some of them for instance.

මේ කප ජලලොගිය මෙපිට සාරදහසක් අවුරුදු රජුන් නැතුව  
නිබුන කල්හි මෙසේ ශ්‍රියාකාන්තාව හා සුසි දිව්‍ය ප්‍රත්‍යා යන  
දෙදෙනාගේ සමගිකමින් උපන් සුසිවංශය පැවතුණේය.

During the Kalpa (aeon) when the earth was covered  
with floods for four thousand years, when there were no  
kings, the Solar race was founded by the union of Sriya-  
kāntāva (the goddess of prosperity) and Surya Divyaputra  
(the sun god).

There is colloquial style :—

සමනකුටපථීනය පටන් වාලිකා කාන්තාරය ඇවිදින් සොලොස්  
ගව්වක් ඇත එතැනට පිතා ඔය ඇවිත් වැටුණාය. එතෙත්ට  
රුහුණු මායා පිහිටි ත්‍රි සිංහලය වන්නේය.

From the Samantakūṭa Parvataya (Adam's Peak) flowing  
through sandy plains the distance was sixteen gowas (leagues).  
To this place falls the Pīṅgā Oya, and this is the point where  
Tri Sinhalaya (the three divisions of Ceylon) Ruhunu, Māyā  
and Pihīti connects.

### Poetical Style.

සුසුම්ලා යකින්හි-නෙත්කදලු ඉසින්	හි
මෙලෙස සිට නියන්න-සිංහපුර වර	සෙද
රජ ඉසුරු විද ඉද-කරන නොපනන	සද
නැව් නැති ලෙසද-ලක්දිවට බැස	එද
නූග සෙවනෙ වන මැද-තනිව වූත් සෙ	එද
බත් බුලත් දි සොද-මවා විමසක්	සොද
රු දෙදෙන එකී ඉද-වූත් සදෙහි රිච්	උද
මෙලෙස වෙස් ගෙන එද-යකුත්ගේ පුර	වැද
මරා උත් දුනු බැද-රජ සැපත් කුඹ	සොද
දව සරින කල	එද

The Yakkini with sighs—sheds tears from her eyes  
Speaks in this manner—in the good Sinhapura

When enjoying royal prosperity—On account of unlawful  
conduct

When (he was) sent away in a ship—landing in Lanka-  
dwipa on that occasion

Under the shade of the Ficus (Banyan) in the forest—  
When on that day remained alone.

Having given good rice and betel—A beautiful residence  
being made

We two having slept there during the night—When  
the sun rose

On that day taking the form of a mare—Entering the city of Yakkus

Killing and pursuing them—Making you the king there  
When we were living thus.

### In Verses.

මළුවුම වැද්දන් ළඟට ගොසින්	නේ
සුරතල් බස්දී පාර අසන්	නේ
දෙවලෝ මිය බස් මොකද කියන්	නේ
පනික්කි මැතිගේ කෝරා දෙත්	නේ

The Malalu approached the Veddass

After pleasant word and inquires for the road

Who inquires in Tamil what the words were

The Panikki Chief did translate them

සිංහල දේසේ කවුද බොලන්	නේ
ආරිය වංසේ අයද බොලන්	නේ
සූරිය වංසේ අයද බොලන්	නේ
අනික් කෙනෙක් අප නොතකා ඉන්	නේ

Who are the inhabitants of this Sinhalese country,

Do they belong to the Arya race,

Are they of the Solar race,

We shall not care for any others.

Or sometimes in corrupt Sinhalese

මලයාල දෙදසේ මුහුණතායක රජ්ජරුවනේ හෙවා කමෙන්  
පැරද්ද රාසින් කඩයාරේ වරිටුනාය පිපාසවු වූ ඒ ලිඛාරයේ  
දරුවෝ කුමාර ලිඛාරෙ කෙකිලාස්වුඩයාරෙ

While fighting for king Muttānāyaka of Malayāla country,  
Rasin Udayara was defeated and killed, after that the  
children of that Udayāra were Kumāra Udayāra and  
Kaillātha Udayāra.

Sometimes interesting notes unconnected with the narratives written in the books are interspersed in the texts, particularly dates of important events and names of persons of note.

I quote below some of the dates.

සක වම් එක්වා දහස් පන්සිය විසිනවය වන වම්සෙති වෙසගපුර  
දිවකලන් සඳුදින පෙනවින්න මහරජ කථවිය කළේය.

King Seneviratne died on Monday, 2nd day after new moon of the month of Visakha (May) 1529 Saka Era.

සක වම් එක්වා දහස් හාරසිය නවවෙනි වරුසයෙහි උදුවස් මස පූර්වයවක් ලත් සිකුරාද් රැවු නව පැයට රාසි මහරජ කථිථිය කෙළේය.

King Rajasingha died on Friday, 9 peya (3 hours 36 minutes after sunset) on 2nd day after new moon in the month of Unduvap (December) in 1489 Saka Era.

සක වම් එක්වා දහස් සියහට එකට පැමිණි වරුසයෙහි දුරුතු මස පූර්වයෙහි ලත් ගුරු දින පාන්වු සත් පැයට කුණ්ඩසාලේ නරේඤ්ඤ සිංහ මහරජ කථිථිය කළේය.

King Narendra Singha of Kuṇḍasāla died on Thursday, 5th day after new moon in the month of Durutu (January), in 1661 Saka Era.

සක වරුස එක්වා දහස් සසිය හැව්තවයට පැමිණි වරුසයෙහි නිකිනි මස පූර්වයෙහි ලත් රවි දින උදය පාන්වු තුන්පැයට විජය රාජසිංහ රජු කථිථිය කළේය.

King Vijayaraja Sinha died on Sunday, 5th day after new moon three peya after sunrise (1 hour 12 minutes i.e., 7.12 a.m.) in the month of Nikini (August) of 1669 of Saka Era.

සක වරුස එක්වා දහස් සසිය අසුනවයට පැමිණි වරුසයෙහි උදුවස් මස අවර්ධයවක් ලත් බුදු දින පාන්වු සතර පැයට කිරිති ශ්‍රී මහ රජ කථිථිය කළේය.

King Kirtisri died on Wednesday, 2nd day after full moon in Unduvap (December) month, 4 peya after sunrise (1 hour 36 minutes) 7.36 a.m. in 1689 Saka Era.

සක වරුස එක්වා දහස් සත්සිය දසහවයවන වරුසයෙහි අසළ මස පර්වතලෙසවක් ලත් ගුරුදින පාන්වු පස් පැයට රාජාධිරාජ මහ රජ කථිථිය කළේය.

King Rājādhiraja died on Thursday, 13th day after new moon of the month of Esala (July) 5 peya after sunrise (2 hours i.e., 8 a.m.) in 1719 Saka Era.

මුනි දුන් පිරිනිවන් පෑ දෙසිය අටළො	ස
තෙව්දුන් මිනිඳු සිව්ලක දඹදිවින් බැ	ස
නිරි දුන් එකල ලක්දිව දෙවැනි පෑති	ස
දුමි දුන් පිටිව වම්ස දනුව මිමිලෙ	ස

Two hundred and eighteen years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Teacher.

Thero Mahinda arrived from Dambadiva

The King of Ceylon at the time was Devenipātissa

Know ye this is the year when the Bodhi-tree was planted



අපෙ මුනි වරුසයෙන් ලක් හසිය විසිඑ	ක
එ බැමිනි සාය දඹදිව පැමිණ වරුසෙ	ක
එ පැමිණි එදඹදිව සකරජ කළ කැන	ක
පැලඹිනි ලොවට මින්මතු සක වරුසයෙ	ක

In the year 621 of our Teacher  
Occurred the (great famine) Bemini Sāya in Dambadiva,  
(India).

During that year a King named Saka, reigned in Dam-  
badiva.

From that year the Era of Saka.

සක වසින් එක්දහස් සසිය පිරුනු සැත්තැ පසි	නි
මෙම ඉනි මස මවසහ ඉනිනැවු පහලැනි සිරි ලක දුටි	නි
ලක පැමිණ නරනිදු පිනෙණි සත බව දැනිනි ගොඩලන ලෙසි	නි
මෙම ලෙසිනි නැව් පහළවුනි නිරිකුත් කොටිනි සියම් දෙසි	නි

In the Saka year 1675

In the month of Vaishaka the ships sighted Sri Lanka  
Though the merits of the king of Lanka for the saving  
of the sorrows of beings,

In this manner the ships arrived from the country of  
Siam at the port of Trincomalie.

සුදසුන් පටන් මිජ බා නිරිදු සසි ද	නු
අසුසාර දහසක් රජ කළා ද	නු
මේ ලක්දිමේ දඹදිවි නල පැවත ප	නු
සක්සෙන් මැරූ මිජසිදු රජ කළා ද	නු

Know the kings from Sudarsana to Vijayaba,  
Know that eighty four thousand kings did reign,  
In this Lankadvipa from the line of Jambudvipa,  
Know that King Vijaya destroyed the yakka and  
ascended the throne.

මිජසිදු පටන් බ්‍රව්නෙක බා නිරිදු ද	නු
සක වරුසයෙන් දහසක් පන්සිය දෙළොස් ව	නු
දෙසිය රාජ දැනිය රජ කළා ද	නු
රජකළ ගණන් මින් මමකෙකැයි දැන නිය	නු

Know the kings from Vijaya to Buvanekabahu,  
It was 1512 of the Saka Era,  
Know that there were two hundred who held the kingdom,  
Therefore declare thus the number of kings who reigned.

වළගම්බා නිරිඳුන් අවදියේ පෙ	ර
බල මැතිසෝ නවසියසකි නැණ පව	ර
වඩුවට සේනාව නවසිය යයි නි බො	ර
නිරුකළ වඩු සෙනන පවසාලවි මිතු	ර

Of yore during the time of King Vaḷagambā,  
There were nine hundred wise powerful and renowned  
chiefs.

In truth there were nine hundred clans of artizans,  
Friend tell me the number of artizans employed at the  
time.

කඩුගත් නරණ අනුසැදි දරවර පව	ර
වඩුවන් වන ලෙසට ගල්පෝරු සස ක	ර
ජනසින් මුල් ඉතට සිටි නව සියය හැ	ර
වඩුවොත් එක්ලස විසි දහසකි මිතු	ර

In the cities under the sway of kings who bore the sword  
Artizans who were supervisors of workers on stone  
slabs,

Without counting these nine hundred who were the chief  
artizans

Friend there were 120,000 artizans.

The following names of envoys sent by king Kirti Sri to Batavia to seek the aid of the Dutch are given in one of the Vittipot (A.S. 9 Colombo Museum Library), viz., Baltombuworala Jayasundera Mudiyanse and Hulangamuwa Kalu Adappa.

In the Kaḍaimpot or Boundary Books the main Provinces of the Island are always given as three. The number of sub-divisions vary to some extent in different books.

The Provinces Tri Sinhala (three Sinhalese) are Ruhunū, Māyā and Pihīti. The boundaries of the three divisions meet at a point where the Pingā Oya joins Mahāvāliganga near Kaṭugastoṭa and also at Adam's Peak (Samanala.) Adam's Peak is common to all the divisions. The Mahāvāliganga up to its mouth at Trincomalie and the Kaluganga from Kalutara to Adam's Peak form the northern and western boundary of Ruhuna and the sea form the southern and eastern boundaries. Kaluganga from Adam's Peak and Mahāvāliganga to north of Kandy form one boundary of Māyā Raṭa, the sea from Kalutara to the mouth of Deduru

Oya near Chilaw another boundary and the Deduru Oya a third boundary. The rest of the country to the north of Deduru Oya and west of Māhavāliganga form Pihiti Raṭa.

Each of the three Provinces is divided into Divisions or Raṭas.

Ruhuna Province was divided into 47 Raṭa divisions. Māyā into 28 Raṭas and Pihiti into 41 Raṭas.

The officers administering each Raṭa were:—Disavas, Mohottalas, Mudiyanse Rālās, and Gamarālas. Each Raṭa had a Disava, one to four Mohottalas, and equal number of Mudiyanse and a larger number of Rālās for groups of villages and a Gamarāla for each village.

The following is a list of Raṭas, the boundary of each of which is given in detail in the Kaḍaimpota.

### Ruhuna Province.

1. Kotmalaya, 2. Maturata, 3. Godarata, 4. Pasgama, 5. Sorabora, 6. Paharagammana, 7. Koṭasara, 8. Uva, 9. Badulla, 10. Riṭigaldanuwa, 11. Kokkagala, 12. Mavelidanuwa, 13. Kaluwelidanuwa, 14. Kinihiriyaya, 15. Eravulla, 16. Miveldanuwa, 17. Minigaldanuwa, 18. Digāmaḍulla, 19. Galbodanuwa, 20. Kelagaldanuwa, 21. Sadagaldanuwa, 22. Malvatumāḍulla, 23. Riṭigamuwa, 24. Ambavela, 25. Sandagiriya, 26. Satra Giriya, 27. Magamadulla, 28. Kumbukan degodaya, 29. Dolosdasaya, 30. Mavigamdas gomuraya, 31. Sagama, 32. Kaṭanbula, 33. Veraminigama, 34. Pihiti, 35. Degalrāta, 36. Magamrāta, 37. Ruhunugal, 38. Katagal, 39. Sabapane, 40. Kada, 41. Ovāna, 42. Weligam Danawa, 43. Uggal, 44. Nedungal, 45. Sapugal, 46. Mātota, 47. Devinuvara.

### Maya Division.

1. Siduruvāna, 2. Bālavīṭa, 3. Mātale, 4. Bogambara, 5. Pansiyaṭṭuva, 6. Māyādunna, 7. Kindigoḍanuvara, 8. Sandapāndunna, 9. Pālangamuwa, 10. Kumburugamnuvara, 11. Dambadeninuvara, 12. Beligalnuvara, 13. Demunamāda velāna, 14. Devamādda, 15. Kurunāgalboḍa nuvara, 16. Riṭidegalboḍa,

17. Minisarūva, 18. Aṭakalandenaraṭa, 19. Maniyan-gama, 20. Denavaka, 21. Kalugalboḍa, 22. Navasona, 23. Pasyotanaya, 24. Pānabunnaya, 25. Kelanidegam-boḍa, 26. Attanagalla, 27. Alutkūru, 28. Piṭigal, 29. Naranivinna.

### Pihiti Division.

1. Ambandanuwa, 2. Elasaṛa, 3. Veladuraya, 4. Udugoda, 5. Asgiriya, 6. Siriyāla, 7. Māgalla, 8. Sulugalla, 9. Kadiyava, 10. Polonnaruwa, 11. Padava, 12. Koṭṭepihiṭinuvera, 13. Magalnuvara, 14. Kalanuvara, 15. Silvavalnuvara, 16. Kaliraṭa, 17. Māvatuṇuvara, 18. Morurata, 19. Kurundugamuwa, 20. Kavudavela, 21. Paluvannuvara, 22. Kokalanuvara, 23. Padinuvara, 24. Mannārama, 25. Karambavalāna, 26. Nelliyanuvara, 27. Mahagalgamunuvara, 28. Mānāvatuṇuvara, 29. Kuḍāveligamunuvara, 30. Chavagatcheriya, 31. Balatidiya, 32. Mudunduvalliya, 33. Kanukhiya, 34. Gangatalaya, 35. Velagannuvara, 36. Marichiya, 37. Velanuvara, 40. Anurādhapura, 41. Nāgadipa.

Each Raṭa or Division consisted of a number of towns and villages and these were of various types. The following is a list descriptive of towns and villages :—

1. Nagara—Cities and towns.
2. Paṭuna—Ports.
3. Paṭunugam—Seaport villages.
4. Bamunugam—Villages of Brahmins.
5. Mahāgam—Large villages.
6. Undugam—Villages with fields and dry land cultivation.
7. Mudalgam—Villages that pay taxes in money.
8. Senagam—Villages that contribute taxes by labour.
9. Pasalgam—Villages which are suburbs of towns.
10. Viyavahāragam—Villages by usage.
11. Viyavastāgam—Villages that have been created by law.
12. Galwalagam—Villages with quarries for stone.
13. Malabulatgam—Villages where betel is grown?
14. Kolabelgam—Villages in the jungles?

15. Ippangam—Marshy villages ?
16. Yakadaāgaragam—Villages where iron is smelt.
17. Ran āgara gam—Villages where gold is mined or collected.
18. Mutu āgara gam—Villages where pearls are collected.
19. Ruvaṇ āgara gam—Villages where silver is found ?
20. Menik' āgara gam—Villages where precious stones are found.
21. Idamgam—Villages with large extent of cultivated land.

These villages are sometimes classed as Olagam and Niyamgam, *i.e.*, small villages and large villages. Where a village was the property of the King it was known as Butgam, of the Queens—Bisogam, of private individuals—Nundagam, of temples—Vihāragam and Devālagam.

It is further stated that throughout the Island at regular distances there was Idamgam, where travellers were able to find hospitality, ambalam or rest sheds at each gowwa (league) Pinpengewal sheds where water was provided free, 'palam' or bridges crossing the rivers, "edandu" or logs and planks for crossing over streams and canals. "Agal" drainage drains, Ivuru—embankments, "Patas"—dug out tanks. Pokunu—ponds, "yodaling"—large built wells, (Ling-wells).

To each village were attached a physician, an astrologer and a preacher (Veda Sastra, Naksatra and Dhramakatika) Lists of tanks, irrigation channels and the extent of irrigable land in most of the divisions are given in detail. These lists should be of value even at the present time and if they had been available at the time when the restoration of irrigation works in the Island was undertaken, a great deal of money, energy and time spent in these restoration works could have been saved and the work itself made more widely useful and profitable. It is frequently stated that there were manuscripts in the Island known as Jaladipani, giving

full description of ancient irrigation works and their construction. It may be possible to compile a fairly exhaustive list of such works from the existing Kaḍaim and Vittipōṭ which should be of use in the planning and the execution of irrigation works.

Irrigation tanks were of two classes. Those with water over eight cubits were named Mahavew (large tanks) and under eight cubits Kudavew (small tanks). The lists so far available give the depths, number of sluices, canals, sowing extents of several hundreds of tanks in the North-Western and North-Central Provinces. A few quotations from this descriptive list is given below to indicate the manner in which the lists are compiled.

කේ මලලින් ගොඩ බැසු පොත්පරපසුව මුල්කොට වතුර උස අට රියනයි, අමුතු වැටි දහ අටයි, බිජු දෙසිය පනස් අමුනයි, වැව් දිය ගැමුනු අත මාගන් දහ අටයි, එගන් වලට අමුනු වැටි එකසිය අටයි.

For Ponparippu where the Malala landed (the tank had) eight cubit height of water with eighteen amunuṣveti (distributing sluices?) the irrigable extent was two hundred and fifty amunas sowing extent (1,750 bushels); along the water course there were 18 large villages (Magan) and one hundred and eight small sluices for those villages.

මහ සියඹලන් ගොඩුව මුල් බිජු තුන්සිය පනස් අමුනයි වතුර උස පොලොස් රියනයි ගොරොච්චි දෙකයි කානු ගොරොච්චියි. වැට්ට නැමුනු අත මාගන් ඔලගන් අමුනු වැටි පොටා පනස් අටයි.

Mahasiyambalangomuwa irrigates 350 amunas sowing extent (2,450 bushels) height of water 15 cubits. Two sluices, one drain sluice. In the area served by the tank there were 58 small sluices to serve 58 small and large villages.

රන් පත් විල මුල් බිජු දෙසිය පනස් අමුනයි වතුර උස දෙලොස් රියනයි, ඔලගන් අමුනු වැටි පොටා පනයි, මැටිගන් පතලේ ලේ වත්කොඩන් මෙට්ට තිසෝ කොටු ගොරොච්චියි, ගල්ගිරියාවේ වැඩ සිටි සාලිය රාජ කුමාරයෝ අසොක මාලාවන් විසිතුන් වැව් බන්දවා දෙසිය පනස් අමුනක් අස් වද්දවා පයිගෝ දෙසෙන් වැඩවො වාදු උන්නාන්සෙලාට පුජාකළාහ.

Ranpativila has 250 amunas (1,750 bushels) sowing extent. Height of water 12 cubits. There were five sluices and below the main sluice of the excavations for earth there

was one bisokutu horovva (well sluice.) This tank was built by Prince Sāli and his Queen Asokamala and they opened up 250 amunas sowing extent and dedicated the fields to the monks who arrived from Pegu.

ඌරා වැව බිජු නිස් අමුනයි වතුර උස පස්වියනයි, හොරොවි හනයි, ගල් පැන්නුම් කඩවල් තුනයි, යෝධ ලිං දෙකයි, නිස් අට වියන් උස කුකුලා වැව් තුනයි.

Uravewa, sowing extent 30 amunas (210 bushels.) Height of water 5 cubits, 7 sluices, 3 Galpennumkada (overflows on stone,) two yoda ling (built wells) 3 kukulveti (embankments?) 38 cubits high each.

According to one Kaḍaimpota the total sowing extent of paddy fields in Ruhūṇa, Māyā and Pihiti Divisions was 201,825 amunas (1,312,775 bushels). Arable land that are gone into jungle in Māyā Rata was 120,000 amunas (840,000 bushels sowing extent). In the Pihiti Division 1,020,000 amunas (7,140,000 bushels sowing extent). In Ruhūṇa 612,000 ammunas (4,284,000 bushels). This account it appears, was compiled about 1600 A.C. Among historical incidents a few extracts will be given here to indicate their nature. One Vittipota states that from very early times Laṅkā was colonized by people from all parts of India irrespective of race and country, they mixed freely and formed one nation and the writer adds: "therefore those inhabiting this Siṅghala should not say that they belong to some one particular family or race."

“එසේ හෙයින් මෙම සිංහල වාසින් විසින් වංශ වාරිත්‍ර නොකියිත්‍ර.”

The first of those who occupied the Island belonged to the race of Vararāja. “Three descendants of the Royal House Vararāja of the Asura race named Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin founded a city known as the kingdom of Laṅkā. And they brought there, chiefs from various districts belonging to the kingdom of Vāṅga and settled them there with their attendants and followers. Among them were those belonging to the race of Asura, race of Yaksha, race of Nāga and the race of Nara and the men of these four races made Laṅkā their home. Some of these races intermarried and they became a mixed race. Sometimes they divided and fought against

each other. Mālyavat, Mālin and Sumālin began later to harass the people. Then the people rose against them and drove them away from the country."

The next invasion was that of Rāvaṇā. The book says Pulasti was the son of Brahma and he built the city of Pulasti. Pulasti's son was Vijruvan. Vijruvan had three sons Rāvaṇ, Kumbakarna and Vibhīṣaṇa and a daughter Suparṇaka. Rāvaṇ became King of Laṅkā. This King who had ten crowns and was possessed of great knowledge classified the Veda into various divisions. He obtained great powers through his pious conduct and through ceremonies and penances he practised. He and his people became adepts in all hidden sciences and astonished the world and became celebrated. They were able to subdue even the gods and terrorize them. During this time on account of the beauty of Sita the wife of King Rāma, Rāvaṇā was tempted to carry her away to Laṅkā and on this account the great Rāma-Rāvaṇā war took place. When Rāvaṇā was defeated and slain his brother Vibhīṣaṇa was crowned king of the Island. The men of Laṅkā at this period were known as Rakshasas and Yakshas. Their language was Āndra (Telugu). In the course of time the last of their line was Jutindara who lived in a city known as Sirivatpura from where he governed the people.

Next comes the Manurājawaṇsa. There reigned in Siṅhapura in India the King named Siṅhabāhu and his Queen Siṅhasiva, their son was Vijaya. Prince Vijaya and 700 of his companions were charged by the people of that country for their crimes and the King having inquired into the complaints and finding them guilty ordered their heads to be half-shaved and placing them on a ship sent them adrift. Prince Vijaya and his followers landed in Laṅkā. The Prince after marrying a Yaksha Princess Kuvēṇi and through her aid destroyed the kingdom of Yakshas and its last King Jutindara and became the first of the Sinhalese Kings of the Manurājawaṇsa. The Asura power disappeared from the Island from that date.



Later Kuvēṇi was discarded and Vijaya formed an alliance with the King of Madura whose daughter he married and a large number of people from Madura arrived in the Island and intermarried and lived there. After the death of King Vijaya, Prince Paṇḍuvas, son of Sumitta, brother of King Vijaya, arrived with 32 followers and was crowned King of the Island. The next arrivals were the daughter and her attendants and 6 sons and their attendants of the Sākya Prince Amitodana, the brother of King Suddhodana. The daughter became the queen and the six brothers who followed her founded various settlements in the Island: Prince Ramgotra founded Rāmagotra or Rāmēswara: Prince Ūruwela founded the city of Vilbā: Prince Vijita founded Vijitapura: Anurādha founded Anurādhapura: Prince Suddhodana founded Digampura or Digāmaḍulla. The sixth Prince founded Māgama and their descendants too intermarried with others and became one race in the Island.

The next settlers from India came as ministers and attendants of the sacred Bodhi-Tree and they went by the name Bodhivaṇṣa. They too intermarried and became a part of the nation.

During the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya, a Chief named Danduba Maharaja with his followers arrived in ships and occupied the country near the mouth of Deduruoya and settled in the District where he built the tank of Magalla and by cutting a canal from Deduruoya he built another tank Ranbendese and built a city by the name of Ihala Danduba Nuwara and lived there. He also built a tank at Sulugalla and got many fields cultivated and stored the grain at Budumuttāva. These evidently are the Kāka Mukkaras who occupied the North-Western Districts and under Nila Mudali who gave much trouble to the Kings of Anurādhapura after the Duṭṭagemuṇu period. During King Bhatiya's time Tamil mercenaries were brought down from South India to fight the Kāka Mukkara. They, however, could not be dislodged and became a part of the Sinhalese nation.

The next settlers were the 24,000 captives brought from Chola country by King Gajabāhu.

During the reign of King Bhuwanekabāhu who is mentioned as having reigned at Dambadeniya and Sītāvaka and the date of whose reign is given as 1512 Saka (1590 A.C.). A number of princes from Malala (Malabar District) who were defeated by their neighbour the Maravaras came with valuable presents to the King of Ceylon and sought refuge here; they and their followers were given the country near Pomparipu and the Vanni where they settled down.

The last of the arrivals from India are mentioned in connection with the Kings of Kandy in a book named “*Madurā puren-ā vittiya*” (the account of the arrivals from the city of Madura).

King Narendrasin̄ha sent presents to the Pandian King Āryachakravarti, asking for the hand of his daughter in marriage and for two princes from his house for appointment as ministers. The Pandyan King readily agreed to the proposal and sent his daughter Sumitava to be the queen and two sons of his brother Pandarachkravarti viz., Swaminātha and Hemanātha to be ministers with a large retinue of followers. As King Narendrasin̄ha had no issue by the queen, he married a second queen Kaikea, daughter of the King of Telugu. During this period a large number of chiefs and others from Madura came and settled down under the protection of the King and obtained places of honour and importance in the Island, and there also arrived large numbers of Wadugas from the Telugu country and took up their residence in up-country. They intermarried among the Sin̄halese families and held high offices. King Narendrasin̄ha died. He was succeeded by his Queen's brother Śrī Vijayarājasin̄ha who after reigning eight years was succeeded by Kīrti Śrī Rāja Sin̄ha, a brother of the Telugu Queen and the younger brother of the Queen was appointed Chief Minister. Kīrti Śrī Rāja Sin̄ha had four Queens brought over from his own country of Telugu, and with them came their followers, attendants and relatives. He died without issue, and was succeeded by Rājādhirāja Sin̄ha, during his time Pilimalauva became Chief Adigar. The following story of the death of the King is given in one of the Vittipot:—

The King's chief Queen's mother's sister had a daughter Siriammal. They lived at a place at Malwatte and the king used to privately visit Siriammal.

Pilimatalauva Adigar was in charge of the palaces and visited Malwatte regularly and Siriammal had a son by Pilimatalauva. The King, however, was not aware of Pilimatalauva's intrigue. Siriammal's son was Kannasamy. When Kannasamy was about 17 years of age the King had reason to suspect Pilimatalauva. He handed over his sword to Kannasamy and told him to challenge anyone who came to the Palace during night time and ordered him to kill any intruder. Some days later, the King himself rode over to Malwatte and leaving his horse tied to a tree entered Malwatte Palace. Kannasamy challenged, knowing that he was the King. Pilimatalauva was informed of the occurrence. They took the King's body over to the road and arranged a story that the King had met with a riding accident, the horse stumbling over a fallen branch and the King falling on his sword.

Pilimatalauva thereafter got Kannasamy proclaimed King of Lanka. Before concluding these desultory notes, it will be of some interest to give here an account of the building of the fort Trincomalie during King Kirti Sri Rājasinha's time. The division comprising Trincomalie was known as Mangala and the port Tri Mangala. The Chiefs of Matale and the adjacent country rushed men and material to Trincomalie and built the fort under great pressure. The work was done under Molagoḍḍalle Herat Mudiyanse. The completion ceremony is thus described.

සුදු මීමාව රන්ක කපිතිලිය ලැබී මිම්මා ආදලු අගනෙල් කඩවුලු පටලා පන්තුකර මිම්මාව පෙර මුනේ යන්ඩ ඇරලා සඳුද, මුලේ නැකනින් නැගෙනහිර බලා කොටුවට කටුගල හඳ, මුන පැවැය. කොටු කාප්පේ පිට ඉර හඳ කෙටු සඳ කඩ පහන පිට මුදු මවරලු බලා මැඩුදු පී බඳයක් සෙදුනාය.

Molagoḍḍalle Herat Mudiyanse arrived and the white buffalo was covered with a red blanket. The tips of buffalo horns were lighted with rags dipped in oil and the animal was driven in front. This was on Monday at the time of Mula Nākata facing the East, the prepared stone slab was

placed on the ramparts. Standing on this slab which was engraved with the signs of the Sun and the Moon and facing the sea shore Herat Mudiyanse burst out into a song of joy :

සංසාරේ දිය පල්ලේ එහස නි	න
මා යන්නේ මල්නෙලමින් සාමාසි	න
එහස පුරා මල් පිටිලා විහසනි	න
පිළි ඉසිර ගිය මල තෝර විහසි	න
අසින් බලා නුවනින් කලයි කන	කා
කොතන ගියාට් සවසට එනි එකින් එ	කා
ලබක මිසා බිම නොවසනි සිතේ සැ	කා
මලේ සුදට අතු අත වැසුවාය කො	කා
මලේ මලේ කැබලිය වන්න පොල්ම	ලේ
රලේ රලේ මුහුදින් දමන දිය ර	ලේ
බලේ බලේ රාසි දෙවියන්ගෙ බ	ලේ
ගලෙන් කොටුව බැන්දයි නිරිකුණ ම	ලේ
ජල කවදද මා වැළඟන බැස ඉව	රා
සතු කවදද මෙතනින් නුවරට ඉව	රා
බල සමුද්‍ර ඇති සංකඩ ගලපව	රා
වල දළදා මාළිගට බැස සොද	රා

From a tree in the depths of my ocean of life  
 Plucking its flowers, I travel with satisfaction  
 The flowers which blossomed to-day  
 Tell me the significance of this flower which bloomed.  
 I have used my vision and my skill, the work is now  
     complete  
 However much we may wander about, we meet  
     together at dusk  
 The doubts that flow in the mind have not been allowed  
     to materialise on earth  
 The crane alights on the branch when it sees the white-  
     ness of the bloom  
 The flower though of coconut is of the brightest (the  
     king coconut)  
 The wave though a wave is a mighty one rolling from  
     the sea  
 The power though a power, is that of the divine King  
     Rajasingha  
 The fort of Trincomalie has been built of stone.  
 Say shall the water cease flowing in Mahāvāliganga.

The work is now complete and when shall we reach  
the city of

Senkadagala City where we have heroic troops.

And get to the Palace of the Tooth and bow down our  
heads with joy.

No attempt has been made in this paper to give either a continued account or a regular translation of any of the Vittipot or Kaḍaimpot. The above are only gleanings of a few interesting items, and they should serve to stimulate the interest of students to search the treasures of hitherto unpublished Sinhalese Manuscripts which are still found in the Island.

Dr. Andreas Nell said that the original of the manuscript translated by Mr. Marambe, R.M., was in his possession, and he hoped that with the help of Mr. de Silva they would be able to prepare a series of translations of such manuscripts. The accidental death of Rājādhi Rājasinha, which was narrated by Mr. de Silva according to one Vittipota, did not agree with the story of Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera, nor with the account given by the late Mr. James d'Alwis, who had recorded in the local newspapers some years ago the statements made to him by some of the old people who were living at the time. He had stated that Rājādhi Rājasinha was stricken with illness and could not get a doctor. He summoned Pilima Talauwa, who owed everything to him. Pilima Talauwa was hiding in the next room and would not come. The King was so much struck with his ingratitude that he sent a special messenger, and even then he would not come. Pilima Talauwa's Walauwa was on the site of the King's Pavilion in Kandy. The subject that Mr. de Silva had dealt with in his paper was vast and they hoped that he would continue his researches.

Mr. C. H. Collins said that they were very grateful to Mr. de Silva for the paper. It showed that he had made a study of the manuscripts found in the villages. It was a great pity that that field had not been more fully explored as Mr. de Silva had shown them that much was known to the people, but had not been made use of. Kaḍaimpot existed in various parts of the country treasured by the villagers. They would naturally be reluctant to bring them out, but he thought they would be accessible if the owners were made to realise what use was being made of them. He thought that work should be taken up by the Society. The Society should appoint a sub-Committee to consider the best way in which it could be done. A suggestion had been made that they should first of all try to get all the Kaḍaimpot in one district. They should get the text first, prepare it and then translate it into English.

The Chairman said that he wished to join the other speakers in congratulating Mr. de Silva on his very interesting and suggestive paper. He wished to have heard a great deal more on the subject of

those manuscripts. Mr de Silva had not told them how far from internal evidence he was able to judge the period of their production, their antiquity, and how far the statements in them differed from those made by historians. By examining them and comparing their version with familiar events it would be possible to deduce on which side the greater measure of accuracy lay. No matter with what care they were treasured up they should be able to get them, even the more elusive traditional stories handed down by rote. He would suggest to them that the Society should send out reliable men as copyists and bring the texts without in any way disturbing the possession of very treasured objects by the people. He then asked them to join him in wishing a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. W. A. de Silva for his very interesting paper and to express their very earnest hope that he would pursue the subject further.

The vote of thanks was then carried with acclamation.

Mr A. G. M. Fletcher, Colonial Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks to the Governor. He said: May I, Sir, on behalf of this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, express the great pleasure that it has given us to welcome you here to-night and at the same time I have to voice our sincere regret that this is perhaps the last occasion on which you will be present at any meeting of ours. There is one circumstance of Your Excellency's administration which deserves a red letter in our records for the perpetuation of your name, that owing to your personal interest and initiative we have been able to make a commencement with the Sinhalese Dictionary. (Applause) I would ask the meeting to accord a very cordial vote of thanks to Your Excellency for presiding to-night and also to wish you and Lady Clifford health and happiness in your new Colony.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

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## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, April 27, 1927.*

Present.

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.

President (in the chair)

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.), Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar | Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,

Honorary Secretaries.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 2nd March, 1927, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—Anthony Gnana Prakasam B.A. (Lond.), Norbert Wickramaratna, Mudaliyar and the Hon. Mr. Christopher William Wijekoon Kannangara.

3. The question of the nomination of Office-bearers for 1927-28 was considered.

The Honorary Secretary pointed out that under Rule 20 Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and Dr. S. C. Paul retire by seniority and Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, it was resolved that Dr. Joseph Pearson and Dr. S. C. Paul be nominated for re-election and that Dr. Andreas Nell and Prof. R. Marrs do fill the remaining vacancies.

4. The Draft Annual Report for 1926 was read and passed.

In connection with the Report of the Archaeological Commissioner, the President stated that he had under consideration the future policy of the Department and asked the members present whether they had any special views to put forward. An informal discussion followed in which it was stated that the work of the Department is at present very largely concerned with conservation. The members present thought that the time had now come when in addition to the present conservation the Department might take a step forward and devote special attention to new work, particularly excavation. They instanced Mantai and the Jaffna Peninsula as two places in which such work was very desirable.

5. The paper on "the Sinhalese Blood Games and Allied Sports" by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, together with a report of the sub-Committee was laid on the table.

It was decided that the paper be referred to the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for further report.

6. The paper entitled "The Place of Tamil in the Science of Language" by the Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., was laid on the table.

It was resolved that the paper be referred to Dr. Paul for his opinion.

7. The date and business for the Annual General Meeting was considered.

Resolved that the meeting be held on the 13th of May and that Mr. Seymour's paper with notes by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, be read.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, May 13th, 1927.*

## Present:

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., G.B.E.,  
Patron (in the chair.)

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.), Vice-President.

Mr. M. M. Anthonisz  
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.  
Mr. R. A. Cader  
Mr. J. W. de Alwis  
Rev. J. P. de Pinto, B.D.  
Mr. Geo. E. de Silva  
Mr. J. D. Dharmasena  
Mr. Thos. Gracie  
Mr. H. R. Gunaratna  
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar  
Mr. A. Gnana Prakasam  
B.A. (Lond.)  
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate-Mudaliyar  
Mr. J. J. Gunewardene  
Mr. L. P. Jayasuriya.

Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana  
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe  
Mr. L. M. Maartensz  
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.  
Mr. H. T. Ramachandra  
Mr. E. Reimers  
Mr. R. Sabanayagam  
Mr. B. L. Sarnelis Silva  
Rev. M. D. Sirinivasa Tissa  
Thero  
Mr. C. Suppramaniam  
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,  
C.C.S.  
Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,  
Mudaliyar  
Mr. C. A. Wijeyesekera

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 4 ladies and 12 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th March, 1927, were read and confirmed
2. The following Annual Report of the Council for 1926 was read.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1926.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1926.

## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Two General Meetings and four Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 2nd July, 1926, when the Annual Report and a paper entitled "Sinhalese Magic and Spells" by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P. were read. At a General Meeting held on February 19th, a paper on "The Danes in Ceylon" by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S. was read.

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXX. No. 78 was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the Meetings, the following papers and notes.—

- i. Raja Sinha II and his British Captives by Mr. E. Reimers
- ii. Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804 by Mr. Frederick Lewis F.L.S.



- iii. Prolegomena to the Scientific study of the Sinhalese Language by Sir (then Mr.) Cecil Clementi, K.C.M.G
- iv. Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century II by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A. C.C.S.
- v. Extracts from the Dag-Registers of Batavia Relating to Ceylon, by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P.
- vi. Excerpta Maldiviana by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (retd.).
- vii. Some Portuguese Plans by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt D., C.C.S.
- viii. Two Notes on Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804 by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi and Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha.
- ix. The Portuguese Chapel in the Kalpitiya Fort by the Rev. Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

### MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 390 members, of whom 52 are Life members and 9 Honorary members

During the year the following 29 members were elected viz:—, Messrs. J. R. G. Bantock, A. Boyd, R. L. Brohier, N. K. Choksy, R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A., James de Silva, B.A., N. J. de Silva, W. D. de Zoysa, J. D. Dharmasena, G. L. A. Dunphy, F. C. Gimson, B.A., C.C.S., D. C. R. Gunawardhana, B.A., C.C.S., D. S. Jayasinha, A. P. Jayasuriya, P. C. R. Jayasuriya, Rev. Jinavarawansa M. Jinananda, G. H. D. Kumaradasa, G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., P. S. Maartensz, G. C. Mendis, B.A., T. Muttukumar, B.A., L. A. Rajapaksa, LL.D., D. S. A. Samaranayaka, S. A. M. Sugathapala, N. K. de S. Wickramasinha, C. A. Wijeyasekara, Mesdames Isabel Lovell Dorsey and B. Hunsworth.

### LIFE MEMBERS.

The following have become Life Members, viz:—The Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn, the Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera, the Ven'ble F. H. de Winton, Mr. J. D. Dharmasena, Mr. N. J. de Silva and Mr. N. K. de S. Wickramasinha.

### DEATHS.

The Council records with regret the deaths of Messrs. E. T. de Silva, F. R. Senanayeke and Gabriel Gunawardhana

### RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year:—Mr. P. Vaithalingam and Miss S. V. Parker

### PRESIDENT.

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E., was elected President of the Society.

### COUNCIL.

Under Rule 18 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Senior Vice-President retired in order of longest continuous service. The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka was elected a Vice-President.

Under Rule 20 Prof. R. Marrs and the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka retired by seniority and Mr. A. M. Hocart and Mr. Lionel de Fonseka by least attendance. Dr. Pieris, Mr. Hocart, Mr. de Fonseka and Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratna were elected to fill the existing vacancies on the Council.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 131. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges, viz :—

The Geological Society, London ; Royal Asiatic Society, London ; Pali Text Society, London, The American Oriental Society, The Asiatic Society, Bengal ; The Asiatic Society, Bombay, The Musée Guimet, Paris ; The Royal Colonial Institute and l'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient, Hanoi

For donations to the following, viz :—

The Archaeological Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of Burma, The Government of Siam, Prof. W. Geiger, and the Director, Colombo Museum.

## FOURTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

An invitation was received from the Secretaries of the Conference which was held at Allahabad in November last, requesting the Society to send delegates.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka represented the Society at the Conference.

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1926.

The Archaeological Commissioner has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following summary of the work done by his Department in 1926 :—

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY FOR 1926.

*Conservation.*—The work at the Haṭa-dā-gé in Polonnaruva has been completed. In the course of the conservation of this monument it was found that some of the stone slabs were missing and these have been replaced with imitation stone made of cement and stone dust with gravel mud as colouring matter. When large surfaces are so covered it is not always satisfactory but it is better than equally large surface of red brick. The completed Haṭa-dā-gé adds considerably to the interest of the Quadrangle.

The mass of brick referred to in the last report as threatening to break away from the third storey of the Sātmahā-prāśāda has been dealt with. The final scheme consisted in cutting out part of the mouldings underneath, (this was to be regretted ; but inevitable) removing the loose brick work from inside, raising the mass of brick one foot and filling the hollow underneath with solid brickwork tied to the old work by an iron cramp. The iron collar has been removed. Pointing of old brickwork has been completed on the east porch and has begun on the so-called Aṭa-dā-gé and on the building facing it. The northern gate of the Citadel has also been pointed.

At Anurādhapura the walls surrounding the Thuparama have been pointed and the work done in previous years at the Dhātumār-diraya, Selacetiya and Elephant Stables have gone over.

*Research.*—The first excavations on a large scale since 1914 were begun at Mantai, the ancient Mahatittha. As this was the first stratified site the coolies had worked on it was considered advisable to begin with a small gang of 50 men which could be more easily controlled. Further the greater part of the Rs. 9,000 provided was absorbed by preliminary clearing and surveying, by tents and other materials. We could therefore, do little more than scratch the surface this year. However, we were able to date that stratum within narrow

limits, thanks to some coins and we have a good idea now of the pottery and beads between the XIIIth and XIVth centuries whereas we knew nothing before. There was very little else on the site.

No time was left in the dry season for systematic exploration circuits, but a number of interesting ruins were inspected in the course of other inspections. For instance Nuvarakale near Hettipola which is now being surveyed, and Ambakka, and the cave at Kirinda which should throw light on the maritime pre-historic remains. Some of the modern temples visited, such as Nikavaratiya and Dambadeniya were found to throw an interesting light on ancient buildings. At Dambadeniya Prof. Geiger found the Thupaghara or dagaba house over which he had long puzzled.

The plans of the Temple of the Tooth are being completed, and our thanks are due to the priests of the Malwatte and Asgiriya for the assistance they have given us in studying the ritual.

*Epigraphy*.—Some new inscriptions have been copied during the year, among which may be mentioned a record of Gajabahu I. unearthed near the Thuparama Dagaba in Anuradhapura, 31 votive tablets containing fragments of Buddhistic Sanscrit scriptures found at the Indikatusaya, Mihintale, and a pillar of Udaya III (?), now standing near the Badulla Kachcheri. The last is an interesting document, giving us details about the ancient village institutions.

#### ETYMOLOGICAL SINHALESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

The compilation of the Dictionary is carried on under the administrative control of a Committee consisting of Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., (Chairman), the Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman (Hony. Secretary) appointed by your Council.

The programme proposals, together with an estimate of the cost of the work during the year were approved and a supplementary vote of Rs. 27,875 has been passed by the Government to defray the expenses during the present financial year.

The Government has allotted to the Society for the purpose an office in the old Lunatic Asylum Buildings.

The editorial work is in the hands of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka who is responsible for the general carrying out of the scheme of work in all its details, and of two editors Gate-Mudahyar W. F. Gunawardhana and Mudahyar A. Mendis Gunasekara who co-operate with the Editor-in-chief in all matters connected with the compilation of the dictionary.

#### THE ALUVIHARA EDITION OF THE PALI CLASSICS.

The work in the Papanca Sudani II has been continued—it has progressed slowly during the year, but the book is now nearly complete and it is hoped that it will be published during 1927. The next book to be undertaken will be the Samanta Pasadika—the Commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka.

#### CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

The President of the Society wrote to the British Legation in Peking on the above subject, and an arrangement was come to in consequence by which the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu and four other references were to be translated. The present troubles in China however may cause a delay in obtaining these translations.

## FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,267.27 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,204.62 and expenditure was Rs. 3,064.76.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translations Fund, showing balances of Rs. 806.55 and Rs. 2,090.97 to the credit of the Society are also annexed.

The accounts have been audited by Mr. Herbert Tarrant, and the Council offer their thanks to him for the trouble he has taken.

## GENERAL.

The want of accommodation in the Museum both for the special purpose of the Society and the general purpose of the Museum is a matter which the Council would desire to bring again to the notice of Government. The Council feel strongly that the new wing which was proposed as long ago as 1905 should not be further delayed but should be constructed as early as possible.

3. Mr. L. M. Maartensz proposed and Mr. C. H. Jolliffe seconded that the following Office-bearers for 1927-28 be elected to fill the existing vacancies. Members of Council.

New Members : Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.

Re-elected : Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

4. Mr. L. J. B. Turner read with notes a paper entitled "The Log Book of Admiral Bailli de Suffren" by Mr. A. W. Seymour.



# RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT OF THE Chalmers Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1926.

PARTICULARS	Amount.		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1925 ..	1,009	50	Colonial Storekeeper ..	202	95
			Balance ..	806	55
				1,009	50

Examined and found correct  
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

12th May 1927.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,  
*Hon. Treasurer*  
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

# RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT OF THE Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1926

PARTICULARS	Amount.		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance :—			Balance :—		
Fixed Deposit in Imperial Bank ..	1,200	00	Fixed Deposit ..	1,200	00
Current Account in Imperial Bank ..	832	81	Current Account ..	890	97
Interest on Fixed Deposit ..	58	16		2,090	97
				2,090	97

Examined and found correct.  
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

12th May, 1927.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,  
*Hon. Treasurer*  
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 19th, 1927.*

Present :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.

President (in the chair.)

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., Vice-President.

Prof. Robert Marrs, C.I.E.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Dr. Andreas Nell

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,  
Honorary Secretaries.*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 27th April, 1927, were read and confirmed.

2. The following vote of condolence was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing:—

Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of the Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt. be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of Sir Christoffel's family.

3. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society.—Charles Wickramaratna, Abayaratna Ratnayaka, B.A. (Lond.), M. Sugatadasa Waidyasurya, Dr. Paul Schwarz, Rev. Rambukwelle Siddhartha, M.A. (Cal.), Charles Alfred Marasinghe, William Watt Addison Phillips, Rev. Wilamune Sri Dharmakirithi Thera, Adamally Mamujee, Walter Raleigh Hancock, and K. S. Tillakaratna.

Mr. S. Paranavitana—a member of the Parent Society—was elected a member under Rule 47 of the Rules and Regulations of this Society, and the membership of Mr. S. Freudenberg, was renewed.

4. A paper on "Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of houses, villages, towns and cities during the mediæval age" by Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor, together with the sub-Committee's report, was tabled.

It was decided to accept the paper for reading, the question of publication in the Journal to be considered later.

5. A paper entitled "the Place of Tamil in the Science of Language" by the Rev Father S. Gnana Prakasar, together with the sub-Committee's report, was tabled.

Resolved that the paper be accepted for publication in the Journal of this Society.

6. The following suggestions made at General Meetings of the Society were considered:—

(i) that the Society should consider what steps to be taken to collect and preserve all known facts relating to Sinhalese Magic and Spells; (ii) that the Society take steps to collect all peasant songs relating to Agriculture and similar industries; (iii) that steps be taken to make copies of the texts of all Sinhalese Vitti and Kāḍaim pot. It is also suggested that copyists be sent out to do this in order not to disturb the possession of these treasured documents by their owners.

Resolved that these be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva and Mr. A. M. Hocart for favour of their suggestions. An offer from Dr. Nell to supply a preliminary note with regard to the questions of Sinhalese Magic and Spells was accepted. A letter from Dr. P. E. Pieris on the above was read.

7. The following suggestion made at a meeting of the Sinhalese Dictionary Managing Committee held on the 13th July, 1927, was considered :—

“To have copies made of old *Sittus* and similar documents which come into the hands of the editor for the purpose of the dictionary.”

It was resolved that the matter be referred to the same sub-Committee appointed to consider No. 6 for favour of their opinion.

Mr. Jayatilaka remarked that very few *Sittus* had been received.

8. The question of appointing a standing Committee of the Council to review references to Ceylon in current literature was discussed.

It was decided that a section of the Journal be devoted to such references and that notes and reviews be added where possible and that the Honorary Secretaries be authorized to refer any references to competent members for review.

9. The motion proposed by Dr. Nell that Government be requested to take early steps to consider the advisability of compiling an Archaeological Register comprising a list of all sites and remains known to be in the Island and such as may be found by further exploration, was discussed.

Resolved after discussion that the attention of Government be invited as to the necessity for an Archaeological Register.

10. The following proposed by Dr. Nell (a) that Government be asked to send two delegates to the XVII International Congress of Orientalists and (b) that the Ceylon Archaeological Commissioner be one of the delegates, were considered.

It was stated that certain members of the Society would probably be in England during the time of the conference, and it was decided to allow the matter to stand over for the present as Government had not so far received an invitation that Ceylon should be officially represented at the Congress.

11. The date and business for the next General Meeting were considered.

It was decided that the question of date be left in the hands of the Secretaries and that the paper entitled “Some Rules and Precepts among Tanils for construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the Mediaeval Age,” by Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor be read at the meeting.

12. A letter dated 31st August 1927, from His Excellency the Governor, intimating that His Excellency was glad to become the Patron of the Society, was read.

13. The President informed the Council that a letter had been received from Mrs. King-Church regarding the sketches and that she had increased the price. It was decided that the matter be dropped and the Government be written to accordingly.

14. A letter dated 23rd September 1927, from the Editors of “Verlag Der Asia Major,” Leipzig, intimating the desire of exchanging their quarterly journal “Asia Major” with the Society’s Journal,

Agreed that the Journals be exchanged,

15. The proof copy of the Society’s Journal No. 79 was laid on the table.



## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, November 28th, 1927.*

Present.

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G.,

Patron (in the chair.)

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala, Muhandiram	Mr. S. Pathmanathan
Mr. V. E. Charavanamuttu	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea	The Hon Mr. E. W. Perera
Rev. J. P. de Pinto	Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
The Hon Mr. W. A. de Silva	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	Mr. A. Ratnayake, B.A.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne	Mr. C. Suppramaniam
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana	Mr. M. S. Vaidyasurya
Prof. Robert Marrs, C.I.E.	Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,
Mr. C. Wickramaratna	Mudaliyar

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. Hon'y Secretary.

Visitors: 2 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 13th May, 1927 were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman called upon Mr. Proctor to read his paper.
3. Mr. Proctor read the following paper entitled "Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for Construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the Mediaeval Age."

## **Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the Mediaeval Age.**

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BY R. CHÉLVADURAI-PROCTOR

There is evidence that at a remote period of the Tamilian history the possibility was recognised of awakening in a community a passion for locality and furnishing it with an impetus for good life by means of architecture (Sitpam) which includes selecting sites for, designing and construction of houses, villages, towns, and cities, alignment of roads and streets, sculpture, painting, etc. The rules and precepts to which I shall refer in detail presently seem to me to suggest at every turn that the authors had a vision of life and that their purpose was to present that vision to the masses and thus lead them to see life steadily and see it whole. To the selecting of a site for, and designing a house or city, the resources of religion, mythology, the simple science of the day, sociology and mysticism appear to be definitely applied. Vocational ambition is attempted to be related to love of locality and locality is nature so harmonised as to forward the realisation of the higher yearnings of man. The welding of all the integral but apparently divergent elements appears to have been performed by a mystic process in which rituals, doctrines of faith, art, and poetry play important parts.

It is hoped that the above reflections on my part at the outset will be helpful as offering a hint for the interpretation of the rules and connected rituals.

Traditional memory preserved in Tamil literature mentions the titles of 32 standard works on Architecture. Some of the authors are claimed to have lived in the previous yugas, i.e., some period anterior to 5029 years ago. Most of the works are lost, but the knowledge has

been preserved, carried down from generation to generation by the caste or clan of artisans, who were the practitioners of the art. A few of the ancient works are however still procurable. Ram Raz the author of "*The Essay on Hindu Architecture*," published in 1834, says that he was able to procure five of the ancient works viz. (1) *Manasara* (2) *Mayan* (3) *Casyappa* (4) *Vayganasa* and (5) *Sakaladihara* in more or less fragmentary form and that it was not quite possible to understand them except with the assistance of one initiated in the art as the books were replete with technical terms and the language was abstruse. As indicative of the period of the compilation of some of the books, he draws special attention to the fact that "the authors have carefully pointed out distinct sites to be set apart in villages and towns for erecting Buddhist and Jaina temples and have likewise prescribed rules for the images of the objects of adoration of these sects."

It is a noteworthy fact that authors of the ancient works on architecture were mostly Aryans, but their works were composed in the Dravidian country apparently for the benefit of the Dravidians. The sites pointed out for erecting Buddhist and Jaina temples were contiguous to those assigned to inferior or malignant deities of the Hindu Pantheon. The explanation for this curious fact is that the more conservative sections of the Aryans, especially Brahmans who were the custodians of religious lore, left their homes during the period of Buddhist upheaval, seeking to found homes elsewhere. These were welcomed to the Tamil country by the Tamil Kings who were liberal patrons of arts and literature. Here the new settlers practised their religion without let or hindrance, wrote books and advanced learning. Thus it is that we find preserved to-day in the Tamil country as in no other part in India, customs and practices of religion in its ancient purity as presented in the Vedas. The fact alluded to in the *Mahavamsa* that there were no representatives from the Tamil countries of South India present at the consecration of Maha Vihara of Anuradhapura in the second century B.C., while all the other known countries of India were represented on the occasion seems to indicate

that the Aryan immigrants had by that time gained such an ascendancy in the country as to influence its political relations with foreign countries.

The ancient standard works referred to purport to convey instructions to practitioners of the art from ethical and scientific points of view, claiming to relate architecture to religion, sociology and politics. The authors were called *parpars* (seers)—men who by certain detachment from the community, religious discipline, and learning had impressed themselves upon the masses as men of great insight. The practical part of architecture was exclusively the business of the artisans of whom *Sitpi* (the architect) holds the highest rank. The practitioners of the art were free to develop it according to their own sense of judgment or fancy, subject of course to the rules. They were free to characterise the different communities for whom they worked with distinctive designs, ornamentations, and it is in evidence that they did their work with admirable discernment and verve.

There are books written during the mediaeval age in Tamil on architecture based on the authority of the ancient works, but adjusting the rules to the requirements of a more complex society in the light of experience gained by the artisan classes in the past centuries. These books were zealously guarded, being the property of certain families, but, thanks to the spread of liberal education, they are now available for inspection, in fact, some of them have been printed and put on the market by the owners. Among the Tamil books I have examined for purposes of this paper, *Sarasothimalai* deserves special mention. It was composed in 1310 A.D. at Dambadeniya in the Kurunegala District, a chapter of which is devoted to house building and village planning. A palm leaf manuscript copy was in the possession of the late Iragunatha Iyer, a Brahman astrologer of Jaffna. He had the work printed and placed copies on the market. The author's name was "Tenuvaray Perumal, also called Posaraja, son of Sarasothi, Vishnuvite, astrologer at the Court of Prakrama Bahu of Dambadenia." According to the book, the author was ordered by Emperor

Prakrama Bahu of Dambadeniya in the 7th year of his reign to compose the book and that it was on the 17th lunar day Anuda (Wednesday) Vaikasi (May-June) in the season of Spring of the year 1232 Saka that the book received the *imprimatur* of the Sabah presided over by the King himself. I have reasons to believe from evidence supplied by the book itself that it should have taken about three years for the author to complete the book and bring it before the Sabah. On the authority of this book therefore King Prakrama Bahu II came to the throne in the year 1222 Saka i.e., 1300 A.D., a date which is 60 years later than that assigned to the event in Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*. I do not propose to discuss the point here, being aware that this is not the occasion to do so, but would venture to make one point clear in the hope that it would prove useful to gentlemen who would wish to investigate the matter further. On the assumption that the date given by the author is correct, the description of the political affairs of Ceylon as given by the foreign travellers Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo becomes easily understandable. The difference of 60 years seems to point to a probable omission of one cyclic period (sixty years) from calculation at some period of our history, when the conversion of dates in terms of Saka years or Buddhist era was performed.

It is generally known that during the mediaeval age and later, the year in court documents was usually mentioned by name of the cyclic year e.g., *Pirapava*, *Vivapa Sukala* etc. There is one more interesting matter disclosed by the author with regard to the manner of Government then in vogue which I may mention here. He refers to the Government of his sovereign in the following terms:—

“தன்னுடனுதித்து வாரூ  
மான கால் யாகை வெந்தாருந்திசை முழுதுங் காக்க  
மான வேற் தருமென்ன மானிலம் புகழ் வாழ்ந்து.”

He lived in prosperity praised by the whole country as DHARMA the victorious, while the four puissant brother-kings guarded the various quarters.

Here then is a clear indication that a system of Government like that which was in vogue in South India about

this period according to the testimony of Marco Polo and *Mahavamsa* existed in Ceylon i.e., Government of the country by five brother-kings. The allusion to DHARMA of *Bharata* fame is to show that King Prakrama Bahu was the eldest of the brothers (*primus inter pares*). If the points touched upon here in the light thrown by the Tamil book *Sarasothimalai* be worked out in detail, I trust the results should lead to the revision of opinions passed on some of our *Sannases* as forgeries on the ground of assumed anachronisms in dates and rulers. I append copy of the prefatory verses in Tamil referred to, descriptive of the royal patron, the form of Government, date, etc. with English translation (Appendix A).

The author belongs to an era of great building activity in Ceylon marked by the construction of cities of Dambadeniya, Yapahu, Kurunegala and improvements to the city of Polonnaruwa. The book therefore should bear great interest to us, but it is somewhat disappointing to find that the author did not touch upon constructional details or technique, but merely confined himself to the astrological and sociological aspects. Not only in this book but in others also examined by me the rules and precepts are involved for the most part in astrological deductions or seem to be framed on the assumption of the existence of subtle influences of nature, not quite known to modern science. The strange matters are clothed in technical terms, the rendering of which into English is somewhat difficult, even when rendered I doubt of their being of interest to the modern student. But there may be found some data which science may be able some day to support. I place therefore before you some of the more interesting rules, precepts, and practices which in my judgment should be useful, as well as of interest to the modern student.

[A summary of the rest of the paper is given below :—]

### RULES AND PRECEPTS.

#### The *Sitpi*—his Qualifications and Duties.

“ The *Sitpi* (architect) should be a man of wide information. He should have a general knowledge of the Vedas,

read books relating to his art daily in the morning, be alive to the duties of his religion and caste, proficient in mathematics, should know the rules for executing mystic diagrams, (இயந்திரம்) and understand the principles of painting. The *Sitpi* must be a man of high moral character, clean in his habits, sincere and honest in his intercourse with the people. He should not join foreigners. The King, lord, or principal (காத்தா) of the community that employs a *Sitpi* who is not reputed to possess the qualifications, or observe the rules of conduct of his order, shall perish."

### Order to *Sitpi*, Decorous Conduct Enjoined.

The invitation to *Sitpi* to undertake and execute a work should go decorously. Should the messenger who goes to fetch the *Sitpi* be seen by the latter standing or sitting in an indecorous manner or with downcast or moody face, it should be interpreted as an omen portending that the building contemplated could not reach completion. If the portents were found satisfactory and the customary presents paid, the *Sitpi* proceeds to the spot and applies himself to select the site for the proposed building. He will in ordinary circumstances be guided in the matter of selecting sites by rules hereunder stated:—

In the matter of selecting sites for Villages, Towns, and Cities, the same general principles as govern the selection of site for a residence, apply. The rule is conveyed on the principle enunciated in the following stanza:—

“ அண்டத்துக் கொத்த நேர்மை யருளிய பிண்டமாகும்  
பிண்டத்துக் கொத்த நேர்மை பெருகிய இரகமாகும்  
கொண்டமு நேத்திரமு நாசி கூறிய சுரங்கனோடு  
விண்டியருந்தி சென்னி மேவிழிற் இரகமாமே ”

(மனையடிசுந்திரம் )

### Translation.

The constituent elements found in the universe are also found in the human body, similarly the composite members of the body should find their correspondence in the economy of the dwelling house. A dwelling house is merely the artful provision of head, eyes, nose, hands, stomach, etc.

MANAI ADI SASTRAM  
(*Science of House Building*)

**Desirable Site.**

The site for a house, village, or town should have a declivity (i.e., downward slope) to the east and the north.

**Suitability of Site Judged by Taste, Smell, Colour  
and Density of the Soil.**

An ancient rule declares that (1) white soil, sweet of taste and smelling like lotus flowers is suitable for Brahmans (i.e., priests, preceptors and statesmen), that (2) red or reddish soil, astringent or slightly harsh in taste and smelling like horse is suitable for kings, rulers and chiefs, that (3) black soil, bitter of taste and smelling like grain is suitable for agriculturists and traders, and that (4) green or greenish soil, acid or saltish of taste, is suitable for labouring and other classes. While this is the general rule, the later writers add that soil of agreeable taste and smell should be deemed suitable for all castes.

**Unsuitable Sites.**

A house or city should not be built on a site whose soil smells like curd, ghee, honey, oil, blood, hair, fish or bird. The form of the building site should not be like that of the lizard, snake, bird, camel, bow, spear, *Udukku* (the shape of two kettle drums joined at the narrow ends) javelin, trident, winnowing fan, or triangle.

**Communal Objections Should be Respected.**

A house should not be built on a site objected to by people.

The house on which the shadow of gopura or pinnacle of a temple falls should decline in prosperity. The same fate would befall residential houses built in front of Siva or Vignasparar temple or at the back of the Vishnu temple.

Houses should not be built in front of any place of worship where people habitually assemble for worship. Houses should not be built on temple lands, lands reserved for crematorium, or that used for tethering or penning cattle, or on that whose measurement from east to west is less than that from north to south.



### Reservations.

Houses should not be built nearer than 100 feet from the nearest house, temple, junctions of streets, field, tank or river. A house should not be built nearer than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the well, and 25 feet from a water course or communal well. The books say that the *Sitpi* who approves a site in contravention of the above rules should meet with misfortune and the occupants of houses built on prohibited lands should meet with constant misadventures.

### Where a City Should be Located.

The city or capital should be located in a place that abounds in various trees, plants and shrubs and is rich in cattle, birds and other animals, that is endowed with sources of water and supplies of grass and woods, that is bestirred by the movements of boats up to the seas and not far from the hills and that is an even ground.

### Signs and Portents.

The *Sitpi* is enjoined to camp on the proposed site a night and make observations of the signs and portents. He shall determine the several points of the compass, worship god Vinayaga, and perform ceremonies in honour of the genius of the site (Vastu) for the countering any evil signs indicated in his observations and take measurements by the measuring string or rod designed for the kind of building proposed.

The following table of measurement has come down from ancient time.—

8 Parama anu	= 1 Suria rata tukal
8 Suria rata tukal	= 1 Panchin tukal
8 Panchin tukal	= 1 Palan Mayurnuni
8 Palan Mayurnuni	= 1 Eoyer
8 Eoyer	= 1 Payn
8 Payn	= 1 Yavai
8 Yavai	= 1 Manankulam $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch
6 Manankulam	= 1 Talam = $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches
2 Talam	= 1 Vistate
2 Vistate	= 1 Astam
4 Astam	= 1 Tandam = 2 yards

2 Tandam	=1 Parku=8 yards
4 Parku	=1 Kurosam=32 yards
4 Kurosam	=1 Satvari=128 yards

It will be seen from the above that the reckoning begins with a  $\frac{1}{2796202}$ th part of an inch.

Garba graha (sanctuary), temples, halls, goupuras and courtyards should be measured with the standard of *Aslam* (cubit) as unit.

### Rules for Measuring Sites, etc.

The ground plan of houses for Brahmans should be measured with a rod of 28 manankulam (i.e., 21 inches) as unit. The standard of measurement for kings, rulers, and chiefs should be one of 26 manankulam i.e.,  $19\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The unit for agricultural classes and traders is a standard of 26 or 25 manankulam, while for labour and other classes the unit of measurement is 25 or 24 manankulam.

Villages, towns, and cities should be measured with the measuring rod called Tandum-- a two-yard standard. Districts should be measured with *Satvari* measuring string, the unit being 128 yards.

### Determination of the Various Points of the Compass.

Having selected the site, the *Sitpi* should determine the various points of the compass. Accuracy in the matter is necessary as the future prosperity of the house, village, or town was believed to depend on their correct determination. The influences imparted by and through the various quarters on man as well as on all things, sentient and non-sentient, are supposed to be real. Rules have been laid by the Rishis (wise men) of old to take advantage of good influences and for the avoidance of evil influences. An instrument which is said to point to the mythological mountain *Mahameru* (supposed to be the North Pole by some) was known and appears to have been in use. But the more popular way was to determine the various quarters from observations made of the shadow of a peg called *Sancho*.

The fixing of *Sancho* and the days the shadow is under observation are occasions for performing religious ceremonies, giving away presents of cash and cloth, joyous gatherings, and feasts.

The months of Avanai (August 15 to 14th September) Ipasi and Kartigai (October 15th to December 14th approximately) are said to be lucky months for fixing of *Sancho* and determining the various quarters.

### **Allotments of Sites to the Various Vocational Communities.**

The allotment of sites to the various communities is laid down by an ancient rule thus :—(1) The priests (Brahmans) should have residences on the south and their houses should face the North.

(2) The rulers should occupy the western quarter of the site and their houses should face the east.

(3) The agricultural and trading classes should occupy the northern quarter and their houses should face the south.

(4) The working classes should occupy the eastern quarter and their houses should face the west. But as society became more complex the rule came to be more liberally interpreted and the four quarters were sub-divided and exclusive sites were given to the various castes, guilds and communities. Tradition has it, that within the limits of the mediaeval city of Jaffna there lived 64 different classes of people who occupied 64 exclusive sites.

### **Arrangements of Apartments in Residences.**

Stress is laid on the importance of ordering the arrangements of the various rooms and apartments in a private house to suit the influences that the various quarters are believed to convey.

E. The east is suitable for use as bedroom for the master and mistress. Bath room may also be ordered in this quarter.

S-E. Visitors may be accommodated in the south-east quarter of the house. Kitchen may be constructed here.

On no account should married couples occupy rooms in this quarter, for children conceived here should turn out thieves.

S. The south is suitable for prayer closet and for dining rooms.

S-W. The south-western quarter of the house should be used for library, museum, storing professional instruments, weapons and implements, artists' utensils and materials. This quarter should not be used as bed room for married couples, for issues conceived here should turn out immoral men and women.

W. Room on the west is suitable for bedroom. Children conceived here should become strong morally and intellectually. This quarter may also be used for dining hall.

N-W. The north-west is suitable for hospital or lying-in-room. It may be used for prayer room also.

N. The north is suitable for bedroom, also for keeping valuables, e.g., money, jewellery, etc. Children conceived here should become wise and rich.

N-E. The north-east quarter is suitable for bedroom of married couples. It may also be used as prayer room or study. The outhouses and other constructions may with advantage be in the following order:—

Shed for the storing of manure should be built to the south of the house. Straw will be stored on the south-east.

Neat cattle should be pounded on the west.

Barn should be erected on the north-east.

Black cattle should be sheltered on the north.

Dining house and kitchen for the servants of the family should be built on the north-east.

Temple for Sarasvati, goddess of learning, (i.e., schools and colleges) should be built on the north-east.

Stables should be built on the east or on the north-east.

Agricultural implements and stores should be kept in the south-east.

The books say that if the above rules are observed "Madame fortune will be pleased to remain in the house or town, dancing in joy."

The flight of steps leading upstairs should face the north or the east. Extensions to houses should be made on their northern or eastern side. One's senior or superior should be placed on the south or west of one's residence.

Drains and guttering should be placed to run north, east or north-west. They may even be placed to carry the flow to the west, south and south-west and north-west, though these quarters should be avoided if possible. The south-east quarter should by all means be avoided.

The general rule is that the well should be sunk on the west of the main building, but houses facing the north and the east may have wells sunk in the south-west and those facing the south and the west in the north-east. Under no circumstances should a well be sunk on the south-east of a residing house.

### **The Genius of the Site.**

The site finally approved by the *Sitpi* is believed to be in the occupation of a genius or spirit called *Vastu Purusa*. This spirit is credited with a restless nature and somewhat erratic habits. The duty of the *Sitpi* is to please the spirit with oblations and gifts and by charm and mystic ceremonies, wean him of his restless habits and make him dwell on the site with a feeling of greater comfort. After the prescribed ceremonies are performed, the spirit is believed to be transformed the guardian angel of the residence. He abides in the house or town so long as the occupants do not offend him wilfully. The *Sitpi* often traces the figure of *Vastu Purusa*, as he sees him, on the ground plan of villages etc. for the purpose of dividing the area into several compartments to be applied according to their supposed fitness to the building of temples and the formation of roads, streets etc.

### **Rituals.**

Building operations commence with a ritual performed on the body of *Vastu Purusa*. The body is divided into 28 parts, of which 10 parts from the head and 17 parts from the foot being excluded, a ceremony is performed on the

remaining part and a post is set up or a stone laid. When the building is complete and ready for occupation another ceremony is performed. A small casket divided into compartments *Yantra pettiya* is made of earth collected from 5 different sources, viz: earth raised by an elephant with its tusk, earth dug up by bull with its horns, earth taken from tank bed, earth from a crab hole, and earth taken from ant-hill. The compartments of the casket are filled in with gems, pieces of precious metals according to the ability of the *Kartha* (master) and with grains. A mystic diagram (*Yantram*) drawn usually on a gold plate is also placed in the casket which is closed with a lid made of the same material as the casket. The casket is then buried in the building, a short distance north-east from the centre thereof. When houses were built for royalties, *garba pela* or, as it is often called *Yantra pettiya* were often made of metal.

### Houses Classified

Eight sorts of houses and villages differing in form and arrangement are mentioned in ancient books. The quadrangular type of house shut on all sides with ranges of rooms with the courtyard in the centre, open to the sky, and massive doors communicating outside, and sometimes provided with verandahs, porticos and rooms for visitors outside has survived. This type appears to have been the most popular type during the later times when the country was subject to foreign invasions. Houses were also built in the shape of swastika, lotus, etc.

Private houses or mansions may consist from one to nine stories, but that is to be determined according to the rank of the person for whom they are built.

### Mediaeval Palaces and their Measurements

Interesting evidence is supplied in a book on *Sitpa Shastras* in support of the fact that, during the mediaeval age, the Government of the South Indian Countries was run by a joint rule of five brother-kings. The late Awanna Sandanam Pillai of Madura, poet and astrologer versed in *Sitpa Sastras*, has left a book which contains rules specifying measurements for the construction of palaces for the five denominations of Kings, members of their families, and

ministers, denoting their respective ranks. As there is reason to believe that such a system of Government obtained in Ceylon as well, and that the rule found application here also, I give below the substance of the rules, annexing copy of the original Tamil verses in appendix B.

The palace of the principal King should be 108 cubits broad and 135 cubits long.

	Cubits
The palace of the princes, children of the principal king	$80 \times 106\frac{2}{3}$
The palace of the Queen of the first rank ..	$30 \times 31\frac{7}{8}$
Palace of Commander-in-Chief of the principal king	$64 \times 88$
The palace of the Minister (Mantri) .. do ..	$60 \times 67\frac{1}{2}$
House of Astrologer, poet, physician do ..	$40 \times 46\frac{2}{3}$
The palace of the King of the 2nd rank do ..	$100 \times 125$
The palace of the Princes .. .. do ..	$74 \times 98\frac{2}{3}$
The palace of the Queen .. .. do ..	$28 \times 29\frac{3}{4}$
The palace of the Commander-in-Chief do ..	$58 \times 79\frac{3}{4}$
The palace of the Minister .. .. do ..	$56 \times 63$
House of Astrologer, physician, poet do ..	$36 \times 42$
The palace of the King of the 3rd rank do ..	$92 \times 115$
The palace of the Princes .. .. do ..	$68 \times 90\frac{2}{3}$
The palace of the Queen .. .. do ..	$26 \times 27\frac{5}{8}$
The palace of the Commander-in-Chief do ..	$52 \times 71\frac{1}{2}$
The palace of the Minister .. .. do ..	$52 \times 58\frac{1}{2}$
House of the Astrologer, physician, poet do ..	$32 \times 37\frac{1}{3}$
The palace of the King of the 4th rank do ..	$84 \times 105$
The palace of the Princes .. .. do ..	$62 \times 82\frac{3}{4}$
The palace of the Queen .. .. do ..	$24 \times 25\frac{1}{2}$
The palace of the Commander-in-Chief do ..	$46 \times 83\frac{1}{4}$
The palace of the Minister .. .. do ..	$48 \times 54$
House of the Astrologer, physician, poet do ..	$28 \times 32$
The palace of the King of the 5th rank do ..	$76 \times 95$
The palace of the Princes .. .. do ..	$56 \times 74\frac{2}{3}$
The palace of the Queen .. .. do ..	$22 \times 23\frac{3}{8}$
The palace of the Commander-in-Chief do ..	$40 \times 55$
The palace of the Minister .. .. do ..	$44 \times 49\frac{1}{2}$
House of the Astrologer, physician, poet do ..	$24 \times 28$

### Rules re Symmetry and Order.

The height of the house should correspond to the height of other houses in the street and otherwise conform to rules of symmetry. At the front of the houses should be erected a portico, *Vasal*, sometimes called தலைவாசல் (wrongly translated "gate" in English as in *vasal mudaliyar*), which is a reception room where menfolk transact business.

Enlargement of a house should not be attempted by connecting two houses. The course advised in such a case is to pull down both the houses, clear the ground of *debris*, plough the site and sow gingelly, beans, and such like black grains, and when the cultivation has come to flowering, cattle would be let in to feed on it and remain on the land for a day or two. It is then that the land would be suitable to erect buildings thereon. Two houses may have one connected roof, but no more than two should be so connected. Stables should not be connected with the house even by a covered way. Every house should have a street in front and a *pathai* (lane) at the back.

### Timber.

The selection of timber for a house or temple should be made with care. The following trees are forbidden for timber (a) tree standing on a public meeting place (b) tree burnt by fire (c) tree on which birds of the air roost (d) tree to which creepers cling (e) tree standing by a tank (f) tree broken by elephant (g) trees standing on the premises of an abandoned house, cemetery, and temple grounds (h) dead tree (i) tree thrown down by storm on rushing waters.

### Classification of Timber Trees.

Trees may be classified under 3 heads viz. (1) male (2) female (3) hermaphrodite.

"Male" trees are round in form and uniform in girth throughout.

"Female" trees are big at foot and small at the ends.

"Hermaphrodite" trees are thin at foot and thick at top.



Timber of "male" trees is good for posts and support, that of "female" trees for beams and wall plates, and that of hermaphrodite trees for frames and rafters.

If trees are felled on the 5th lunar day (Panchami) and five days following, the timber should be immune from attack of weevil. Should the felling take place under asterism Rohini even a milky tree should be free from attack by insects.

The occupation of a newly-built house is festive occasion of communal rejoicing. The march to the new house is in procession attended with music, the advance guard carrying water and milk, filled in vessels, fruit, paddy, gold cloths, flowers, sandal paste, burning incense, etc. Should the direct way to the house lie along the south, west, south-east or north-east, the route will not be taken. It is unlucky to do so, as it should bring loss of wealth and health to the occupants. In such a case, the family should go to another quarter and remain there 5, 7 or 9 days and on the appointed day proceed to the house along the appropriate quarter. Married women, in happy circumstances, should accompany the procession, and take part in the ceremonies, that follow.

At the new house, presents will be given to the priests, the architect and the artisans. Alms will be distributed to the poor. The guests will be suitably entertained and the servants will be fed.

The following plants are recommended to be planted near the house, as their influence is healthful, tending to prosperity. Coconut, jak, arecanut, pomegranate, grapevine, margossa, lime, jasmine, tulasi (*Coymum sanctum*) konrai (a species of cassia) mango tree, pavala mallikai (*Nyctanthus tristis*).

The following are unfriendly trees and should not be allowed to stand near the house: tamarind, agati (*cornilla grandiflora*),—katarti—murunga in Sinhalese)—nelli (*Phyllanthus Emblica*) pepper vine, illuppai (*Mee* Sinhalese), alari (*nerium odorum*), murunkai, vakai (*Mimosa flexnosa*) marutha (*Sin. Kumbuk*), cotton tree, yetti (*strychuos*), naval (*Sin. Dan*), erukku (*Sin. wara*), kula tree, and castor plants.

The poet-astrologer to King Prakrama Bahu II gives the following recipe for preparing an incense, the fumes of which should drive away poisonous insects and snakes:—

Pound together pepper, ginger, licorice, sweet flag (acorns Colamus) korai kelanku (Cyperus Jorncifolius) kunkilam (resin) leaves of erukku (*Sin.wara*) Tulasi (holy basil) methuku (மெதுகு) and patolu also called pudal (snake gourd) and burn the mixture

Villages and towns were classified from their form, extent, and internal arrangements into 8 kinds. The common requirements were that:—

1. They should be surrounded by walls. The richer villages and towns had ditches or moats running along the wall, while the poorer villages had thorny live fences round, instead of walls.

2. They should have four large gates, one on each side of the enclosing wall and as many smaller ones at the corners.

3. There should at least be two tanks or reservoirs, one for culinary, and the other for ablutionary purposes.

4. There should be one or more temples. Temple dedicated to Durga or Kali should be built outside the wall near the northern gate. The temples of the Buddhist and Jainas were built outside the village.

Sivan, Vignasparar, Iyanar, and Subramaniyar temples faced the East. Vishnu temple and temples dedicated to the Sun, the Moon, and Vyraver faced the West.

Temples dedicated to Kali, Mari or Durga faced the north.

5. Every village or town should have a road running round it. There should be roads and streets running from the centre to the north, east, south and the west.

Besides there should be parallel streets intersecting each other

There were composite villages i.e., villages occupied by different castes, as also villages occupied by a single caste or community. The small village for the habitation of hermits was called *Asram*. It ought to be situated near mountains and forests. The village on the bank of a river

or water course occupied by holy mendicants was called *Puram*. A bigger village occupied by religious devotees or holy men was called *Mangalam*.

The habitations of people engaged in unclean business should be a *Crosa* (4000 yards) distant from the village.

After the arrival of the Moghuls in India and the Portuguese in Ceylon, there was more destruction of villages and towns and less construction; the *Sitpis* do not appear to have had work on this line even so much as could keep their memory alive to the art. The art is practically dead. It is somewhat difficult at the present time to gather accurate information regarding the internal economy of the various kinds of villages, and towns built on the old Hindu model. It would seem that the most popular kind of village during the mediaeval age was the composite village. It was either square or oblong and divided into  $(8 \times 8)$  64 or  $(9 \times 9)$  81 sections.

The village site which was divided into 64 parts had 16 parts specially set apart at the centre (these were called "portions belonging to Brahma, Devas and Spirits") for construction of temple, mandapas, markets, and for parks.

The one with 81 sections had 25 sections reserved for the same purpose. These two kinds of villages had roads running on the four sides alongside the wall meeting each other at right angles. Two broad streets ran from the centre of the village running north, south, east and west. There were in addition cross streets running parallel to the central streets.

## APPENDIX A.

### Prefatory Verses from Sarasothimalai with Translation.

தூலாகிரியர் பெயர் முதலியன.

உரைத்த சகவருடமுழி மாயிரத்திருநூற்  
 றெருநூலெட்டினிலிருவசந்தர் தன்னிற்  
 றரித்திடு வைகாசி புதன் பனையினுநிற  
 றம்பை வளர் பராக்கிரம வாகு பூப  
 னிருத்தரையயிற் சரபோதி மாலையீரா  
 றெய்து படலநூற் றென்பான் முப்பாண்டிசாம்  
 விருத்த மரங்கேற்றினனாற் பேசா ராச  
 விஞ்சை மறை வேகியனும் புலவரேறே.

#### Name of the Author, etc.

Posa Raja, Brahman, learned in the Vedas and poet of high rank exhibited the work entitled Sarasothimalai which is divided into 12 chapters and contains in all 934 *Virutta* (stanzas) for criticism before the learned assembly presided over by Emperor Prakrama Bahu of Dambedeniya, which passed it, on Wednesday under Asterism *Anuda* (anuza) in the month of *Vaikasi* (May-June) the temperate season (Elavenir) of the Saka year 1232.

பாயிரம்

பூமாது மேயு தோளான் பொற்கமலத்து வாழ  
 மாமாது சேரு மார்பன் மாமணி நாடென்கோன்  
 காமானுஞ் செங்கை வள்ளல் கதிரவன் மரபில் வந்தோன்  
 பாமாலை சூழ்மினிப் பராக்கிரம வாஞ்சூபன். (க)

Goddess Earth delights to sit on his shoulders, Goddess Lukshimi, who dwells in golden lotus is joined to his breast, he is the lord of the lands of gems, a liberal giver like unto *Kamadanu* and come of the Solar race. He is adorned with garlands of verse. The valiant Emperor Prakrama Bahu is he.

தம்பை காவலவன் வாசத் தாதகிமலை மார்பன்  
 செம்பொன் மால் வரையில் வெற்றிச் சின்ப்புலி பொறித்தவெந்த  
 னம்பு ராகியனை மேனாழமுதெழக் கடைத்தமூடன்  
 சூழ்மாரமுலையார் மார்பன் கோரவாம்புரவிரன். (உ)

He is the guardian of Danibedeniya, wears on his breast garlands of sweet smelling *Ati* flowers. He is the King who had the victorious and zealous tiger engraved on the

Himalayas and is the Mayan (Vishnu) who in a former age churned the sea so that it may yield nectar. A great horseman and hero admired by womankind is he.

வாரணமெட்டும் பாம்பு மகிழ்வுற வளர்ந்த தோளான்  
கோர வெஞ்சுமரில் வென்று குலவிய வாகை வாளான்  
சேரலா மகுட ரத்தந் தேய்வுறச் சிவந்த தாளான்  
பேருலகனைத்தும் வாழப்பிறந்த பூரட ஞானான்.

(க)

His high shoulders should delight the eight elephants (credited with supporting the earth in the Hindu Mythology). His sword is *Vaakai* garlanded showing that it was used in many fierce battles of victory. His feet are red, the same having been rubbed against the bejewelled crowns of enemy Kings. To bestow happiness on the whole world was he born under asterism *uttradam*.

சீதபும் பொறையு மன்பு நெறியுமோர் வ உவமானேன்  
கோசிலாயிர மாமத்த குஞ்சரத்தானை ராசன்  
மேதக கருணை தன்னால் விளங்கு மாமுனியுன்தந்த  
தாதுவின் பூசையாலுஞ் சதக் கருதனையதக்கோன்.

(ச)

He is the embodiment of justice, patience, love and probity. His army has a thousand well tamed-flawless elephants. By his nobility of character and by pious practices of devotion to the *dattu* (relic) of the great renowned sage, he has become like unto Indra.

திங்கண் மும்மாரிபெய்யச் சிறந்துயர் தரும மோங்கப்  
பொங்கு சீர் பரந்து வீசப் போற்று செங்கோல் விளங்கப்  
பங்கயத்தாரோர் வாழ்த்தப் பாவலர் துதிக்க மிக்க  
மங்கல வளமே கூட மன்னவர் வணங்கிச்சூழ.

(ரு)

It rains three copious showers every month, the practice of Dharma increases, the splendour of life spreads, the worshipful sceptre shines forth, Brahmans chant blessings, poets praise, and as the auspicious objects of festive occasions gather, Kings assemble round in respectful attitude.

சேனையுட் பொருளும் வாழ்வ மென்மையுஞ் சிறப்புஞ் சீருந்  
தானமு நெற்பு மோங்கத் தன்னுடனுதித்து வாழ்  
பானநால் வாகைவேந்த ரருந்திசை முழுதுங்காக்க  
மானவேற் தருமனென்ன மாணிலம் புகழ் வாய்த்து.

(சு)

(He) has lived in prosperity praised by the whole country as Dharma, the victorious, while the four puissant brother-kings guarded the various directions and the country

advanced in property as (seen) in the army, wealth, happiness, high rank, splendour, and in the correct and charitable conduct of the people.

கனக மாமகுடஞ்சூழி சாசனியனைத்தங் காக்கும்  
தனிமதிக்குடைக்கீழ்ச் சிங்காசனத்தின் மேலினிதிருந்து  
மனுநெறி நட்புத்திவாழு மங்கல வாண்டோரேழி  
வினிய சோதிட நன்னுலைத் தமிழினு வியம்பென்றோத். (எ)

In the seventh year of his auspicious and just reign after his assumption of the sovereignty of the whole country under one incomparable umbrella and seated on the lion throne wearing the gold crown, he ordered (me) thus: “you had better write the noble work on astrology in Tamil.”

புண்டரீகத்தார் மார்பன் புகழ்ச்சர சோதிமைந்தன்  
மண்டலமெண்ணுந் தேனுயரைப் பெருமானென்றோது  
பண்டித போசராசன் பரவு உற்குருவைப்-போற்றித்  
தண்டமிழ் விருத்தப்பாவாற் சரசோதி மாலுசெய்தான். (அ)

Pandit Posa Raja, Brahman, son of Sarasothi of fame, astrologer, commonly known as Tenuvaraiperumal with humble homage to his good preceptor (guru) composed *Sarasothimalai* in easy *Viruttu* (verses) in Tamil.

## APPENDIX B.

Original Tamil verses prescribing measurements for palaces for the five ranks of Kings, members of their family and their ministers—(see page 346).

மன்னர் மாளிகை

வேந்தர் வாழும் அரண்மனைக்கு விதிதானென்று விதமாகும்  
சேர்ந்த அகலம் நூற்றெட்டுச் சிறப்பாம் மற்ற நான்கினுக்கும்  
சாந்தமெட்டு முழக்குறையாய்த் தானே யிருக்கமுன்னகலம்  
நந்து நீளம் காலதிகம் இருக்கவேண்டு மென்பாரே.

இளவரசர் மாளிகை

மன்னரின் மக்கள் லீடுவலு வைந்து விதமாகும்  
இன்னில மகலந்தானே என்பதுமுழும் பின் காலாம்  
அண்ணலி லொன்றுக் கொன்று அழிமுழங்குறைய நன்றும்  
முன்னகலத்தின் நீளம் முன்றிலொன் றதிகமேலாம்.

மன்னர்மனை வி மாளிகை

ராஜபத்தினியின் லீடு உலமைந்து விதமாகும்  
சூசனிகலந்தானே சூறைந்துமுழும் பின் காலும்  
வாசமாம் ஒன்றுக் கொன்று வள மிருமுழமுற் தேய்தல்  
மீசகலத்தின் நீளம் வேன் லீசமதிக நன்றே.

சேனாத்தலைவர் மானிகை

சேனாபதிகள் வீதிக்கட்டத் தருகண் டைத்த விதமாகும்  
தானுமயிபான் காண்கலம் சமமாம் பது காண்கினுக்கும்  
கோண்பொன்றுக் கொன்றகலங் குறைக்க வாழிமுடிமென்பர்  
வெகு மொன்றுச் சுழிநீளம் விளங்க வதிகம் மகன்மே.

மந்திரி மானிகை

மந்திரிவீதி கட்ட மனாக் கைத்து விதமாகும்  
அத்தமாம் அகலத்தானே அழிபதுமுடும் பின் காண்கின்  
முச்சுவை ஒன்றுக் கொன்று முடும் காண்கு குறைப ண்றும்  
அதத கலத்தின் நீளம் எட்டி லொன் றக்கமென்பர்.

சீமீத்தர் பண்டிதர் வீதி

சோதிடர் வயத்தியர்க்கும் சூரைத்து விதமாகும்  
மாதலத் தகலம் காற்பான் மற்றுளகான் கினுக்கும்  
சோதிலா சொன்றுக் கொன்று குறைவது நாலும் ண்றும்  
ஆசகலத்தின் நீளம் ஆழி லொன்றக மென்பர்.

Note நீளம் (length) is measured from front to back.

அகலம் (breadth) is measured from side to side.

Mr. Collins read the following note by Mr. H. W. Codrington:—

On page 2 of the synopsis of his paper Mudaliyar Proctor refers to the *Sarajotimālai* and states that according to the author Parakrama Bahu II came to the throne about sixty years later than the date assigned to the event by Wijesingha's *Mahavamsa*. This date is A.D. 1240.

The date given in the *Sarajotimālai* viz. Wednesday in Vaikasi in the Spring of Saka 1232 under the asterism Anusha works out as Wednesday, May 14th, A.D. 1310. This poem was begun in the seventh year of Parakrama Bahu of "Dambai."

For the history of this period I may refer to my "Notes on the Dambadeniya Dynasty" appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. X, part I (July 1924) and in particular to part II (October 1924), pp. 89, 90.

The composition of the *Pujavaliya* at the end of Parakrama Bahu II's reign was finished, as stated in Chapter XXXIV of the work, when 1854 years had elapsed since the First Enlightenment of the Buddha, that is in A.B. 1809 or A.D. 1266-7. Some sixty years after A.D. 1240 brings us to about A.D. 1300 for the beginning of the reign, which manifestly is impossible.

Further, the year A.D. 1310 cannot have fallen in the time of Parakrama Bahu II, as the embassy from his son Bhuvanaika Bahu I to the Sultan of Egypt was received in Cairo in April, A.D. 1283.

Lastly, Parakrama Bahu IV, whose pedigree appears in the contemporary *Daḷadā Sirita*, came to the throne according to this work in Saka 1247 or A.D. 1325-6. Now Parakrama Bahu II ruled at least for 32 years. Calculated from A.D. 1300 or thereabouts his reign would have ended about 1332, or well after the accession of his great grandson.

The date given in the *Sarajotimālai* must be assigned to Parakrama Bahu III.

## REMARKS IN REPLY.

Mr. Proctor said that he was dealing also with that part of "Sitpam" which had become common to other eastern nations also. It would seem that there was a League of Nations in the East with regard to culture. The educated man soared higher than the King and was welcomed everywhere and was known as a seer. It was in the ornamentalations that the various races and countries differed. Every race and every little community had some special device which marked them.

As regards the date in the "Mahawansa" it was a moot point and it had been discussed there several times. Mr. Codrington had relied on the embassy sent to Egypt, but it was very difficult to identify in whose reign it was sent. It might be Buvenaka Bahu or it might be Wijē Bahu. He had a suspicion that the first syllable of the name spelt out as that of the King who sent the embassy conveys the sense of Bosat or Sri Sangabo. As regards the date given by the author whom he had quoted, it should be considered that he was an astrologer whose business it was to calculate dates, unless it was proved that the book was a forgery. The fact was that the ecclesiastical Buddhist dates were not often used. "Saka" era was an Indian date and that was also not commonly used. It was that cyclic year that was popularly in use and he had seen some of the letters of the last King of Kandy not one of which bore the "Saka" era date. Of the many inscriptions also in Ceylon there were very few that gave the "Saka" era date. He was also borne out in that matter by Dr. Paul E. Pieris in one of the documents he had translated. He referred to the Sannas granted to the Portuguese by Emperor Prakrama Bahu VI. It was granted in the 40th year of the reign of the Emperor in the cyclic year *Esura* (mis-spelt *Segre* in the Portuguese document). The year *Esura* when equated with A. D. dates corresponds to A. D. 1518. We have it on the authority of De Queyroz that it was in fact granted in 1518 A. D. Even here *Sarasothimalai* stands vindicated against Kaviyasekera, Wijesinha's Mahawansa, etc. The difference of 60 years was first noticed by Professor Wickremesinghe and he is supported by that Indian Brahmin whose work he had cited and who said that he was a servant of Prakrama Bahu, Emperor of Dambadeniya and not Prakrama Bahu III of Polonnaruwa. The latter did not live at Dambadeniya. There were also other evidence which would indicate the date given by the Brahmin as correct.

Mr. Rasanayagam Mudaliyar, sends the following note—

Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor in his interesting paper on "Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of houses, villages, towns and cities during the Medieval Age" has fixed the date of accession of Parākrama Báhu II as 1300 A. D. on the authority of the Tamil work Sarajóti Málai which, he says, received its *imprimatur* in the Court of Parākrama Báhu II. The King on whose orders Sarajóti Málai was composed was, according to the said Málai, Parākrama Báhu of Dambadeniya. As the Mahavāsa does not mention any other Parākrama Báhu as having reigned at Dambadeniya the Mudaliyar came to the conclusion that it was Parākrama Báhu II who is referred to in Sarajóti Málai and that therefore his date of accession should be put 60 years backwards. The Mudaliyar does not adduce any internal evidence from the book to identify the king as Parākrama Báhu II. Having arbitrarily fixed Parākrama Báhu II as the King referred to, and taking the date of accession given by the Editors of the Mahavāsa as correct, he thinks that the author of Sarajóti Málai took 3 years to compose his work, to fit in with his theory of incorrect calculation



of the cyclic year somewhere in the history of Ceylon. As long as the author does not say how long he took to compose the work, it should be inferred that the introduction in which appears the verse which states that the request was made in the 7th year of Parákrama Báhu's reign was composed just before its reading which was in 1310 A. D. Introductions to Tamil poetical works are not written by the author himself but by person like his son, his teacher, another, his fellow student or his pupil, according to the Rules of Grammar which were then strictly followed. Therefore it is clear that the Introduction was written by another poet after the composition of the work itself in 1310 A. D. which was the 7th year of Parákrama Báhu's reign. Parákrama Báhu, therefore, came to the throne in 1303 A. D. and not in 1300 A. D. On the other hand the date of accession of Parákrama Báhu II was not 1240 A. D. as supposed by the Editors of the Mahavāṇsa but 1236 A. D. on the authority of the Dambadeniya Asna and Atanagaluvaṇsa. The difference is therefore not 60 years as supposed by Mr. Proctor but 67 years and the theory of the mistaken calculation of the cyclic year falls to the ground. Sarajóti Málai says that the four brothers of Parákrama Báhu, and not four brother kings as supposed by the Mudaliyar, guarded the four quarters of his kingdom, but according to the Mahavāṇsa, Parákrama Báhu II had only one brother Bhuvaneka Báhu (p. 276, v. 77). If the reign of Parákrama Báhu II began in 1300 A. D. as stated by the Mudaliyar the synchronisms of the dates of the overthrow of Magha, of the invasions of Sundara and Vira Pándyans as described in the Kuḍumiyamalai and other inscriptions and the sack of Yápáhu by Ārya Chakravarti will have to be given up as incorrect. The King from whom Sarajóti Málai received its *imprimatur* has been proved by me in my "Ancient Jaffna" pages 350-351 to be Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu IV who also ruled at Dambadeniya according to the Kurunegala Vistaraya. The description of the kings of this period after the sack of Yápáhu is very scrappy in the Mahavāṇsa and it is therefore not known whether Parákrama Báhu IV had four brothers or not. The Sarajóti Málai, if it *proves* anything, proves the statement in the Kurunegala Vistaraya that Parákrama Báhu IV too reigned at Dambadeniya. The Sarajóti Málai and Kurunegala Vistaraya being contemporary works, the historical statements found in them are more reliable than those in any later writing.

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## THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

That the first visits of the Dutch to Ceylon, 1601 and 1602, were not accidental but pre-arranged is certain ; and there can be no doubt why Matecalo was the place to which Spilbergen's ships directed their course<sup>2</sup>. In 1598 two ships, the *Leeuw* and *Leeuwin*, owned by Balthazer de Moucheron<sup>2</sup> of Vere in the island of Walcheren, left Flushing for Achin under the command of Cornelis de Houtman. John Davis, who was pilot on board the *Leeuw*, has left us an account<sup>3</sup> of that unfortunate voyage, which culminated in the capture by the Achinese of the *Leeuwin* and some smaller vessels, the death of Cornelis de Houtman and the imprisonment of his brother Frederik, and the loss by death or captivity of over sixty of the Dutch. The *Leeuw* having set out on her homeward voyage called at the Nicobar Islands for much needed provision, but could obtain no rice, which was the chief requisite. Thereupon, Davis tells us,

The sixteenth (November 1599) wee departed shaping our course for the Ile Zeilon<sup>4</sup>. for wee were in great distresse, especially of Rice.

The sixt (December) by God's great goodnes wee tooke a ship of Negapatam, which is a Citie in the Coast of Coromandell, shee was laden with Rice bound to Achien. There were in her threescore persons, of

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1. See note 24 below.

2. He was head of the mercantile house of the Mouchérons at Vere, being of French origin. (For further details see Hakluyt Society's edition of the *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, Intro. lxiv, and 133 n. 1.) Davis calls him "Mushrom."

3. First printed by Purchas in his *Pilgrims*, bk. II, pt. I, and reprinted, with notes by Capt. A. H. Markham, in the volume named in the previous note, pp. 129-56. See also the *Travels of Pedro Teixeira* (Hac soc.), Intro. lxii-lxvi.

4. Davis does not say why Ceylon was chosen as the place where they hoped to get rice: perhaps the natives of Nicobar had advised the Dutch to go there.

Achien, of Java, of Zeilon<sup>5</sup>, of Pegu, Narsinga<sup>6</sup>, and Coromandel. By these people wee learned that in Zeilon there is a Citie named Matecalou, a place of great Trade<sup>7</sup>, and that there wee might load our ships with Sinamon, Pepper and Cloves<sup>8</sup>. They also said that in Zeilon were great store of precious stones and Pearles: that the Countrey doth abound with all kind of Victuals, and that the King is an exceeding Enemie to the Portugals,<sup>9</sup> they also told us of a Citie named Trinquanamale, where was the like Trade.<sup>10</sup> So they promised to lade our ships, and royally to victuall us, for little money. Thereupon we laboured by all possible meanes to recover<sup>11</sup> the said places, but could not, for the wind was exceeding contrary. Then these Indians told us that if we would stay untill January, we should have more than a hundred ships come close by that shore laden with Spicerie Linnen-cloth,<sup>12</sup> and China Commodities; besides stores and other wealth. To stay there as a man of Warre our Governour<sup>13</sup> would not agree: but to stay and in taking any thing to pay for the same he was content, for

5 Not Sinhalese, but probably Moorish traders.

6. Vijayanagar (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. 'Narsinga')

7. That the place had a considerable trade is evident from what we read in the journals that follow: this was probably owing to the fact that Matecalo was the port whence Kandy obtained its supplies (of C. A. S. JI. xx. 127, 252 m. 3). We know little of it before the Dutch visited it: the Portuguese writers rarely referring to it: the earliest to mention it, as far as I know, is Barros (see C. A. S. JI. xx. 35).

8. The mention of cloves is obviously an error: certainly none would be got at Matecalo, unless from vessels that had come from the clove islands in the Eastern Archipelago.

9. Of the journals of Spilbergen Bree, &c., below.

10. Of Trincomalee as a trading port we learn nothing from Portuguese writers, but the statement here made seems to be justified by the statement of Captain Antonio Martins (see below, F 2, note 4.)

11. That is, reach, which meaning is now obsolete.

12. Meaning cotton.

13. Guyon Lefort. He had been the treasurer on board the *Leeuw* was captured by the Achinese, but was sent back with a message from the King to the Dutch, and so escaped captivity. Cornelis de Houtman being killed, and the man appointed by sealed letter to succeed him having shared the same fate, a second sealed letter was opened, in which Lefort was named. Davis calls him the "sonne of Lafort a French Marchant dwelling in Seething-Lane." In the Spilbergen voyage of 1601 he commanded the *Ram*. (see further infra, B 1, note 7<sup>a</sup>.).

so was his Commission. To this the Company would not agree. Whereupon the eight and twentieth hereof we shaped our course homeward, having beaten sixteene dayes upon this Coast to recover Matecolou. We discharged our Prise the eighteenth hereof, having taken the best part of her Rice, for which our chiefe payed them to their content. But the Companie tooke away the Money and Merchandise from the Indians with much disorder: we tooke with us twelve of the Indians of severall places:<sup>14</sup> who after we could a little understand them, told us that the Merchants had great store of precious stones in the ships, which they had hid under the Timbers. Of what truth that report is I know not. They would not suffer Master Tomkins<sup>15</sup> nor me to goe aboard the Prise: for what reasons I know not.

On the 29th of July, 1600, the *Leeuw* arrived at Middelburg; and we may be sure that among other matters related by Guyon Lefort to Moucheron was the report of the Indians in the Negapatam ship regarding Materalo and its trade. The shrewd merchant, recognising the importance of the information, determined to act upon it, and to despatch another fleet to Achin, which was, however, to call at Ceylon on the way. But at this time Moucheron had fallen into bad odour with the States-General, the Admiralty, and his fellow merchants, and a rival company had been formed, under the leadership of Adriaan Hendriksz ten Haef, and including several of Moucheron's former partners.<sup>16</sup> This new company seems to have got an inkling of the information brought by Lefort, and to have resolved to forestall Moucheron. At any rate, the fleet of four ships despatched by this Zealand company on 28 January, 1601 for Achin called at Ceylon on its way thither to inquire regarding an opening for trade. Of this the pioneer visit of the Dutch to Ceylon we have scanty information, even the name of the place at which

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14. What became of these men ultimately we do not learn.

15. Another Englishman serving on the *Leeuw*.

16. See de Jonge, *De Opkomst van het Nederlandch Gezag in Oost Indië* i. 114 et seq.

the ships made landfall being unknown to us.<sup>17</sup> No result accrued from this visit, the natives, for some reason, assuring the strangers that no profit in trade was to be made there, and their assertion being too readily accepted.

Meanwhile Moucheron had got his fleet ready, consisting of three ships, the *Schaeß*, the *Ram*, and the *Lam*, the first being commanded by Joris van Spilbergen, one of his trusted captains,<sup>18</sup> who was also admiral, the vice-admiral, on the *Ram*, being the same Guyon Lefort of whom we have read above. Owing to the very friendly relations existing between himself and the Prince of Orange,<sup>19</sup> Moucheron was able to obtain from the latter a friendly letter to the unknown monarch of Ceylon, of which Spilbergen was to be the bearer the admiral being also empowered by the prince to promise the Sinhalese king all the help he might need against his Portuguese enemies.<sup>20</sup> The three ships sailed from Vere on 5 May, 1601, thus only some three months after the departure of their rivals but, owing to delays on the voyage,<sup>21</sup> it was not until 31 May, 1602 that the *Schaeß*, having lost one of her consorts near the Cape of Good Hope<sup>22</sup> and the other off the Comoro Islands,<sup>23</sup> cast anchor in the roadstead

17. See A. It is strange that no Dutch writer, as far as I know, has referred to this visit: even de Jonge (op cit.) passes it over in silence.

18. See de Jonge m.s., and if *The East and West Indian Mirror* (Hakluyt Soc.) introd. xxxv et seq. The editor of this work holds, that "Speilbergen" is the correct spelling. I have preferred to retain the ordinary form.

19. See de Jonge u.s.

20. See infra, B 1.

21. For the causes see de Jonge u.s.

22. The *Ram*. She arrived at Matecalo on 3 July (see infra, B 1, s.d.).

23. The *Law*. She did not attempt to make Ceylon, but went direct to Achien (see infra, B 1).

of Matecalo.<sup>24</sup> Where exactly this was, I do not know but it must have been not far from Karativu.<sup>25</sup> It certainly was nowhere near the present Batticaloa,<sup>26</sup> as so many writers on Ceylon have erroneously stated. It is not my intention to give here an account of Spilbergen's doings in Ceylon: they have been told in brief by many writers, and as the relation of them by his diarist is hereafter given in full, a summary is needless. I shall only say that the *Schaep* and the *Ram* sailed from Ceylon on 3 September, arriving on the 16th at Achin, where they found their consort the *Lam*.

Meanwhile in Holland had been formed, on 20 March 1602, a General East India Company one of the first acts of which was to despatch to the East a fleet of 15 vessels, under the supreme command of Wybrand van Warwijck, the vice-admiral being Sebald de Weert.<sup>27</sup> The former left for Bantam with 12 vessels on 17 June, 1602, Sebald de Weert having already sailed, on 31 March, with three ships for Achin, but with orders to call at Ceylon on the way. Accordingly we find that de Weert cast anchor in Matecalo roadstead<sup>28</sup> on 28 November, less than three months after Spilbergen's departure therefrom. Of his visit to Kandy

24. It is surprising that such a careful scholar as de Jonge should commit a number of extraordinary errors in describing Spilbergen's arrival at Ceylon. He says (op. cit. ii. 275):—"He appears now to have been carried by the tide into the Indian Ocean above the Maldives (?), then along the coast of Cochin (?), and finally to have arrived on the west coast of Ceylon (?). Here all the coast-towns were occupied by the Portuguese, and he had no other choice but to double Point de Gale, and once more ply northwards to the east coast of Ceylon (!). On 31 May 1602 Spilbergh appeared in the roadstead of Matticalao (Sic) or Batticaloa (!), where some time later his admiral joined him." W. Van Geer (*De Ophkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon*, 12 n.), in pointing out de Jonge's error as regards the arrival at Matecalo road being due to chance, himself falls into several errors.

25. See notes to journals, &c below.

26. That is, the town on Puliyantivu, which had its origin in the fort built in 1627 or 1628 by the Portuguese, who called it "Batecalou." see G 2, note 38). As regards the position of the town of "Matecalo" see infra, G 2, note 24.

27. He was one of the commanders in the disastrous expedition of June 1598 under Jacques Mahu and Simon de Cordes which attempted to circumnavigate the globe by the Magellan Strait, and was the only one that survived and reached home.

28. The reason why de Weert went direct to this place is not quite evident (see D 2, note 15).

and intercourse with Vimaladharma de Weert has left a very vivid and entertaining description, which will be found among the documents I have translated. I shall not attempt to summarize it here, as it deserves to be read in its entirety. I would only mention that Vimaladharma was urgent with de Weert, as he had been with Spilbergen, that the Dutch should come in force to Ceylon to help him to expel his enemies the Portuguese from the island, in return for which they were to have every facility for trade and be allowed to hold a fortified position on the sea-coast. Having previously despatched two of his ships to Achin, de Weert sailed for that port on 14 January 1603, arriving there on 5 February.

This visit to Ceylon had fired de Weert's imagination, and in the letter to his admiral quoted below he formulated a scheme for the occupation of Galle by the Dutch, with a twofold object: first, in order to have a central entrepôt for trade, and second, to do as much harm as possible to Portuguese ships going eastward or westward, all of which had to sight the point of Galle. After despatching this letter de Weert sailed once more, early in the morning of 3 April, 1603, for Ceylon, having now, in addition to his own three ships, three of van Warwijck's and a yacht. He also took with him an ambassador<sup>29</sup> from the Sultan of Achin to the King of Kandy. Owing to bad weather it was not until 25 April, that this fleet reached Matecalo roadstead where it cast anchor. Of this second visit of de Weert's to Ceylon we have two accounts by participants in the expedition,—one a very full and detailed narrative, the other a brief description, but none the less of value and interest. Both will be found further on. On his arrival de Weert lost no time in despatching a messenger to apprise Vimaladharma of the fact. The latter was, however, at the time in the western low-country waging war on the Portuguese and driving them out of their strongholds. He sent word to de Weert urging him to come with his ships as speedily as

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<sup>29</sup> Confusion regarding this man has led to the invention of an absurd story, elaborated by Baldaeus (see F 5 below), to account for the subsequent massacre.

possible to Galle and besiege it by sea, while he himself would attack it with his forces by land. The king also intimated his desire to meet de Weert at Vintare. In reply Vimaladharmas was informed that the second wish could not be acceded to ; but it was resolved to proceed to Galle at the first opportunity. Meanwhile the Dutch spent their time in trying to push trade in various places ; and they also captured and plundered several Portuguese vessels that happened to be passing. When the king heard of this capture he was delighted, and wrote urging de Weert on no account to release the Portuguese prisoners. The vice-admiral had, however, pledged his word to the latter, and accordingly let them go. On 30 May word was received that the king would arrive next day at Matecalo, and accordingly on the 31st every preparation was made to receive him on board and on shore, a handsomely decorated tent being erected on the beach for the reception of His Majesty.

On 1 June de Weert landed with an armed force of 200 men, and met the king outside Matecalo. The meeting was cordial and the two parties proceeded to Matecalo. Here the king requested that de Weert should send his men back to the ships until next day, while the vice-admiral and a few companions should stay the night on shore. Of what followed we have a number of conflicting accounts, nearly all founded on hearsay. Only one writer, a captive Spanish officer, was an eye-witness ; and from his account I think there can be no doubt that while the king and de Weert were feasting, the latter, having drunk too much of the wine that he had had brought ashore, grossly insulted Vimaladharmas. The king, already angry and suspicious with regard to the release of the Portuguese vessels, gave orders to bind the intoxicated vice-admiral, and the latter resisting was killed, though not by the king's command apparently. Then began a general massacre, many of de Weert's men, who, against orders, had gone into the various taverns thereabout, being killed outright or grievously wounded. Altogether some fifty Dutch lost their lives in this tragic affair.



During the next few days letters passed, under a flag of truce, between the king and the Dutch, the former disclaiming all responsibility for the massacre, and expressing his willingness for a renewal of friendly relations. Negotiations went on for some time, the king having meanwhile returned to Kandy ; and trade was also resumed with the inhabitants, but eventually, despairing of any useful issue, Jacob Pietersz, de Weert's successor, having already despatched two ships to Achin and one to Bantam, himself sailed for the former place with the rest of the fleet from Matecalo roadstead on 30 July, 1603.

Thus ended disastrously the first Dutch visits to Ceylon and intercourse was not renewed with the island by the Hollanders until 1610-12, when various treaties were entered into by the Dutch with Vimaladharma's successor, Senerat. Details of these and subsequent events will be given in a later paper.

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#### ANNEXURES.

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- A —The earliest visit of Dutch ships to Ceylon.
- B1 —Extracts from the Spilbergen Journal.
- B2.—Extracts from letter of Dutch Merchants at Achien.
- C. —Extract from letter of Sebald de Weert.
- D1 —Extract relating to de Weert's second visit to Ceylon.
- D2 —Extract from Bree's Diary.
- D3 —Extract from Rijcks's Diary.
- E. —First visit of Dutch ships to Columbo.
- F1. to 6 —Various extracts relating to de Weert's second visit and Massacre.
- G1.—Extracts from Linschoten's "Reys-Geschrift."
- G2.—Rijklof van Goens on the Batticaloa and Panama Territories.
- G3.—Extract from Imray's *Indian Ocean Pilot*.

## A.—THE VISIT OF DUTCH SHIPS TO CEYLON IN AUGUST, 1601.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th August following,<sup>2</sup> the ships anchored before the island of Celon;<sup>3</sup> and understanding from the people of that country that no profit was to be made there in respect of trade,<sup>4</sup> they pursued their voyage to the town of Achin in the island of Sumatra, being the destined place.<sup>5</sup>

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1. The following extract is from a document, printed by de Jonge, *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag* ii 484-96, entitled "Short report, delivered by and on behalf of the company of Zealand, trading in the East Indies, whereby the hon mighty gentlemen the States General will be able to understand what passed during the voyage of the four ships fitted out by them, named, the one *Zeelandia*, of 300 lasts burden, Captain Cornelis Bastiaens, the other *Middelborch*, of 200 lasts burden, Captain Hans Huybrechtss Tonneman, the third the *Langhebereque*, of 150 tons burden, Captain Nicolaes Anthenuissen, and the last the *Sonne*, of 70 tons burden, Captain Cornelis Adriaensz, whereof are returned the two ships, namely, *Zeelant* and the *Langhebereque*, the other two are still remaining on their voyage." The four vessels named sailed from Holland on 28th Jan, 1601, and arrived at Achin on 23rd August following. The *Zeelandia* and *Langhebereque* left Achin on 29th Nov., 1601, and arrived in Holland on 6th July, 1602. The other two ships did not reach home until the end of May, 1603. (see de Jonge, op. cit. ii. 252-9).

2. 1601, thus more than nine months before the visit of Spilbergen.

3. This vagueness is annoying; but, as the south-west monsoon must have been still prevailing, the place called at was doubtless on the east coast of Ceylon but not the roadstead of Matecalo apparently.

4. Fear of the Portuguese perhaps inspired this statement on the part of the natives, or possibly interested motives on the part of Muhammadan traders.

5. As mentioned in note 1, the ships reached Achin on 23rd August, 1601. By the *Zeelandia* and *Langhebereque*, which sailed for home on 29th November, there went to Holland two ambassadors from the King of Achin, one of whom died on 3rd August, 1602 in Middelburgh, where he was buried, a Latin epitaph being inscribed on his tomb (see Valentyn, *Sumatra* 29-30). The other envoy with the suite returned to Achin in 1603-4 (see *infra*, E. note 12).

## B.—THE VISIT OF SPILBERGEN TO CEYLON IN MAY, 1602.<sup>1</sup>

The 23rd May (1602) we arrived at the altitude of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, very nearly opposite to Cochien on the coast of Malabre.<sup>2</sup> Fearing that we might meet with some storm and so be driven upon a lee shore,<sup>3</sup> we again proceeded somewhat more southerly in order to weather the Capo de Camorn, which we saw on the 26th ditto it was low land with a round hill. We took note of a sign of many small black seamews with white heads, and so set our course for Poincto de Gallo,<sup>4</sup> the point<sup>5</sup> of the island of Celon, which we saw on the 28th ditto, and so sailed onward along the land of Celon,<sup>6</sup> and saw the first and second shoals<sup>7</sup>, which we passed on the 29th, and had everywhere good ground of about twenty fathoms, and so sailed towards the river of Matecalo,<sup>8</sup> but first seeing a bay where seemed to be a river, we ran in towards it. Coming to the land on the 30th ditto, we saw that there was no river there, but found a great thicket of *Coques*<sup>9</sup>

1. In the *Ceylon Literary Register* vi. 308 et seq. I gave a translation of this narrative; but, as there were errors in it and in some of the footnotes, I have thought well to give a fresh translation, in which I have retained the spelling of proper names and strange words as found in the original, but have revised the faulty punctuation. I have followed the text of the first extant edition (1605) of the Journal of Spilbergen's voyage, pointing out in notes some variations in later editions. For information regarding these editions, and a summary of the whole of the voyage as given by Valentyn, see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi 308-10.

2. In the "Order of Plates" &c. in the first edition this is corrected to "Mallabar."

3. The south-west monsoon being then in full force.

4. In ed. of 1617 "Ponto de Galle."

5. In orig. "hoeck." cf. "Hook of Holland."

6. On the map three ships are shown near "Ponto de Galle," underneath them being the statement "Here the land was first sighted by us: we sailed forward to Matecalo." The course of each ship is marked by a dotted line.

7. The Great and Little Basses: see *infra*, G 1, notes 13, 15.

8. The word "riviere" in the original signifies a navigable river. On arriving off Matecalo the voyagers found that there was no river there (see *infra*), and that they had been misled by the sailing directions in Linschoten's *Reys-Geschrift* (see *infra*, G 1, note 44), which they evidently carried as their guide.

9. In ed. of 1617 "coquos."

trees, and saw a village wherein stood a *pagode*.<sup>10</sup> Coming to anchor there and sending our boat to land, they of the country came in a canoe to speak with our people and we asking them about Matecalo, they told us that it was yet more northerly; they also were able to name to us Capelle de Frerro.<sup>11</sup> We presented them with some knives; they promised to give us people the next day to bring us to Matecalo, the which took place on the 31st ditto, and we let a man go overland to Matecalo to speak to the king, who is named Dermuts Iangadare.<sup>12</sup> The same evening we came into the roadstead of Matecalo, which is a bay, where they build many ships,<sup>13</sup> and the king has his town a mile from there;<sup>14</sup> we heard of no river there, except about six miles further on, and it is a very dry river, where is scarcely 5 or 6 feet of water.<sup>15</sup>

The 1st of June came some Indians on board (the which nation is Cingales), bringing with them an interpreter who could speak Portuguese. They said to us that they had pepper and cinnamon enough, and that the *modeliar* (the king's captain on land) was desirous that the general should come on shore to speak with him. At the same time came back again our man whom we had sent to the king, and brought us the same tidings that there was pepper and cinnamon enough: the king had also received and entertained him well. The Cingales with their interpreter were presented with pretty glasses and other pretty things, and so went again on shore.

10. Probably the village and temple of Tirukkovil (see *infra*, note 141).

11. Capello de Frade (Friar's Hood): see *infra*, D 3, note 3, G 1, note 18).

12. The "king" was, of course, only a *disáva* or *vanniya* (see *infra*, G 2) and the name here given apparently represents Tamil *dharmaccangathiyar* (? friend of religion). Perhaps this is the same man described by Boshouwer in 1612 (see Baldaeus, *Ceylon*, chap. xi), as "Jaune Sangati, prince and lord of Podere" (? Porativu).

13. Bree and Rijcks do not mention this fact.

14. See the statements of Bree and Rijcks *infra*.

15. The distance mentioned (say 24 miles English) shows that the (modern) Batticaloa "river" is meant (see *infra*, D 2, note 99).

The 2nd ditto the general went on land with three or four men, where five elephants stood ready, which performed much ceremony in kneeling, and some also with their trunk took a man and set him on their body<sup>16</sup>: these elephants are very subtle and are well trained<sup>17</sup> in everything. These elephants of Celon are considered the most intelligent of the whole of India. The general coming to the aforesaid *modeliar* was well received and entertained; he promised to come the next day in order to go and visit the king at Matecalo.

The 3rd ditto the general again went on shore with divers presents to offer to the king; he took certain musicians with him that could play on divers instruments. Meanwhile there came aboard a canoe with a nobleman coming six or eight miles from the north,<sup>18</sup> desiring that we would come there with our ships but they of Matecalo were much against this, so that each one sought to persuade us in order to derive profit therefrom.

The 4th ditto the general let us know in writing that he would come with the king on to the shore.

The 5th ditto the general came again to the shore in the evening with the king, who was accompanied by some 1,000 men all armed. The general begged leave to come on board, who related to us what had befallen him. On first coming to Matecalo he was received by some principal lords, and was brought before the king, who had a guard of more than six hundred men with their naked weapons in their hands, and the king himself with a naked sword standing bade the general welcome, who there gave him divers presents; and thereafter, having heard the music and other instruments (which well pleased the king), he caused the general to be brought into the house of his *modeliar*, where he with his servants was well entertained. The next day the general was bidden to remain in his lodging with his people; towards

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16. On the map an elephant is depicted doing this, not at Matecalo but between "Alicam" (Alutgame) and "Ponto de Galle."

17. In the 1605 edition after "wordèn" (are) comes "wonder," which appears to be the same word repeated by a printer's error in a transposed form. The ed. of 1617 omits "worden," but retains "wonder," which makes no sense.

18. This was doubtless an emissary from the headman of Palukamam (see *infra*, D 2, note 37).

the evening he was brought before the King, when it was strongly laid to his charge that he was a Portuguese, and with great difficulty did he make them believe otherwise, so that he again obtained his freedom to be able to go everywhere, so that the next day he came on board, as has been related above. Remaining on board that evening, he meanwhile entertained the king with other presents, and sent other persons on shore, seeking to treat the king with all friendship and gifts, in order that he might obtain his lading, which the king promised to give him in fifteen days.

The 6th June in the morning the general again went on land to the king, who received him by the shore, and at every moment was joined by more men with arms. The request of our general was all for lading. The king with great promises said that in five days he should have the larger half, and begged much that the ship should be discharged and the goods brought on land; many men and elephants had been sent there to carry the cargo. It was also asked by the *modeliar* to bring the ship up on to the shore, as they do their ships. This improper request of the *modeliar* caused our general a great suspicion that their actions rested on deceit. The general also learnt through some Moors and Turks that there was little or no pepper, because these people do not trade in it there; so that the general consented to what they requested and sought, to bring the ship upon to the shore, in order thereto asking for men and a pilot, whom they gave him. But the general might only go alone, and they requested four other Portuguese in exchange: the general once more maintained that his people were not Portuguese but Zealanders, but consented that three of his men should remain on land. Thus the general went on board with eleven Cingales, whom having on board, he asked that they would help to remove some casks and packages. For this purpose they came below into the hold, and being there he had the hatch put on, and kept them below. He took the interpreter with other Cingales, and showed them many costly goods and said, "Go ashore with two other Cingales men, and tell the king that I shall keep the

eight men until he sends my men on board ; tell him also of the goods that you have seen, which are for the king, but he must send pepper and cinnamon." The general also wrote a letter to the king, admonishing him to guard himself from evil counsellors. If he had cinnamon and pepper, we had goods enough to pay him. And the reason why he had kept the eight men on board was, because they had so foolishly requested him to bring the ship and goods on land without their seeing any appearance there of pepper or cinnamon to pay in exchange ;<sup>19</sup> also that they considered him and his men as Portuguese, whereby they might easily take occasion, the goods being on land, to confiscate them, and if the king were pleased in future to deal with uprightness, he would willingly give the king satisfaction in everything with all respect and friendship. With this letter the general sent once again some presents, still hoping to get cinnamon and pepper. Moreover the general let all the flags and standards wave and the cannon be fired off all round in honour of the king, which caused him more horror than honour<sup>20</sup>

The same ditto the king sent a canoe with the interpreter, wherein was very much refreshment, of deer's flesh, fowls butter and other fruits ; (and)<sup>21</sup> made offer to the general that he might make use of his country everywhere. Our three men also came back on board, (the king,) begging that we would not depart nor change our place, (for) he would expedite our lading ; offered us to leave on board always as surety three or four men of his Cingales, apologised for the misunderstanding about bringing the ship and goods on land, and begged that he might be granted time, he was having the pepper gathered : but it was all deceit.

The 7th June the king sent a sample of pepper, which he priced very dear, also some wax ; but the general would not offer for so little, nor make any purchase.

The 8th ditto the king departed from the shore, as he saw that his attempt would not succeed.

19. The ed. of 1617 omits "in exchange."

20. In orig. "dat hen meer verwaerden als vereerden,"—a play on words.

21. The ed. of 1617 inserts "the king."

The 9th ditto we fetched water and other refreshment from the land, and learnt through others that spoke Portuguese that the king of Matecalo was under tribute to the Portuguese.<sup>22</sup>

The 10th June the general sent two men to the king, (asking) if, considering<sup>23</sup> we gave him time, he could help us to lading. The king promised once more that he knew how to bring it about, but it must be procured from where the great king was, for which purpose he should send some men thitherwards with one of our clerks. The general on hearing this answer resolved to go himself, as he understood that there was another great king of Candy.<sup>24</sup> He requested of the king of Matecalo five persons in hostage, whom the king sent, to wit, one of his councillors Panneka<sup>25</sup> and two other captains, with two other persons besides. So there came again elephants to the shore. The general went to speak to the king of Matecalo, who dissuaded him from going to Candy, as the way was long and difficult, so that it was resolved that a clerk should be sent thitherwards with divers presents.

The 15th ditto the general came on board again, and as one had to bide the time of the return of the clerk sent, every day we bartered for so many precious stones of ruby, balass, topaz, *baccan*,<sup>26</sup> garnets, spinels, jacinths, sapphires white and blue, *olias de guattes*<sup>27</sup> and crystal, so that we got together a fair quantity. The most that it cost us was the presents that one had to give to the king of Matecalo, in order to have leave to trade: the stones are of little value, but we gave little for them.

The 3rd July the clerk returned from the king of Candy with two agents of the same king's, also letters to the general with presents of gold rings, and other great arrows called

22. See *infra*. note 72

23. The ed. of 1617 has "seeing."

24. This betrays strange ignorance on the part of the Dutch regarding Ceylon.

25. Bannekarala, doubtless. (cf. C. A. S. JI. x. 158 and note). See Bree's narrative.

26. Malay *bakam*, ruby. Evidently the writer obtained this name later on at Achin or Bantam. It is used again (*infra*.)

27. For *olhos de Gato* (Port), cat-s-eyes.



*segonsios*.<sup>28</sup> The aforesaid king offered through his letters and agents Gonsael Roderigos and Melchior Rebecca<sup>29</sup> all friendship and lading that he was able (to give), begging that the general would come and visit him in his royal court, Candy.

The same evening arrived Guionlefort with his boat, at which there was great joy, because the ship the *Ram* had now been separated from us since the 24th December near the Capo bon Esperance. Therefore it was unitedly resolved that the general should proceed to the great king, as also because he had such an order from the gentlemen his owners to go and speak with the aforementioned king, presenting letters from his excellency, and the friendship of his friends, and enemy of his enemies.

Thus the general set out the 6th July, taking with him divers presents, and accompanied by the men, among whom were some that played on instruments, the General not shunning the long way and great fatigue.

The *Ram* coming to anchor beside the admiral, some shots were fired in honour of the king's agents, (and) the gunner firing more than he was ordered was wounded by the overloading of a cannon that burst, from which he died.

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All the time whilst the general was absent we refreshed and provided the ship the *Ram*, meanwhile bartering for some more precious stones. We also sent off the shallop to some other places to seek for a better roadstead, but found none better than here off the *playe*<sup>30</sup> of Matecalo.

The 28th July came the general again on board from the king of Candy, and left behind at two days' journey Captain

<sup>28</sup> Spelt *sergonsios* further on (sarakunta). The word represents Port *Zarquncho*, the origin of which I cannot find. In Pyrard u 378 it is spelt *Ziconu*, and the manufacture is described. The arrow was from the earliest times in Ceylon the symbol of authority (cf. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* 551, and see plate 5 in Davy's *Ceylon*, where the king is represented holding an arrow like a sceptre).

<sup>29</sup> Gonsalo Rodriguez and Melchior Rebello (?), two Portuguese renegades apparently

<sup>30</sup> This represents Span *Playa* seashore.

Jongerhelt,<sup>31</sup> who through sickness and fatigue could not follow: he left him three elephants and six men to help him over the road, who also arrived the last ditto. Further what befell him (the general) in the journey to Candy, also in the town and court of the king, and in returning, shall here follow.

The general setting out<sup>32</sup> for Candy came to the house of the king of Matecalo,<sup>33</sup> who entertained him splendidly with the agents from Candy, presented the general with gold rings (and) provided elephants, men, *pallenkins*,<sup>34</sup> to carry him and his goods, also any of his people that could not walk; this convoy he furnished as far as into the territory of the old king<sup>35</sup>. Wherever they came they were well entertained without having to pay anything therefor. Coming into the territory of the old king, the *modeliar* met us with pipes and drums, who brought us into an *aldeia*,<sup>36</sup> where they were well entertained, and the chamber and sleeping-place behung with white cloths, which is one of the greatest honours that one does there in the country of Celon. The general presented the old king with some presents, as also his *modeliar*, and sent a man to the aforesaid king, who begged that the general in returning would come and visit them, promising him that if he would at another time come to his coast or shore<sup>37</sup> all friendship should befall him.

31. Further on described as "of Flushing" He was Captain of musketeers on the *Ram* and died in Achin on 21st Feb., 1603.

32. On 6th July

33. Rijcks (infra, D 3), calls it "the king of Battekelce's palace."

34. In ed. of 1617 "pollenkens"

35. As will be seen from the statement further on, a daughter of this "old king" was "one of the wives of the king of Candy." Both the *Mahavamsa* and the *Rajavaliya* call Dona Cathrina Vimaladharmas "chief queen," but how many sub-queens he had, I do not know. (cf. de Weert's statement infra C 1). His first wife, one of the daughters of Tamvita or Udammita Rala, he repudiated with his Christianity, and she married a Portuguese in Columbo (see *Rajav.* 90, 100. I cannot identify this "old king" or his daughter.

36. Port. for "village." Comparing the itinerary near the end with the statement below that the next *aldeia* stopped at was "two miles" from this one, this village should be "Neguritty," a name which I think is certainly meant for Nikawetiya, which village is a little within the boundary of Uva. ("Neguritti" is probably a misreading for "Nequitti.")

37. Over what "coast or shore" this man exercised authority is not clear.

The general proceeding further was carried with men, goods and *pallinckens* as far as the *aldea* of a queen, being two miles from there.<sup>38</sup> This queen is the daughter of the aforesaid old king, and now one of the wives of the king of Candy, who had given her this *aldea*; but she had left for Vintane, where we arrived the next day.<sup>39</sup> Near the town of Vintane there came to meet us some six *modeliars* accompanied by much people, pipes, drums, horns and other instruments, in honour of the general, and brought him into the town of Vintane, where he was brought into his lodging, which was also behung with white cloth.<sup>40</sup> And we stayed there two nights. There was the aforesaid queen, who caused the general to be informed that she desired to see him, and urged that if he journeyed back again through her territory, he should ask for all that he had need of.

This town of Vintane<sup>41</sup> is situated on the river of Trinquamale, where are made fine galleys and *champanes* for the service of the king of Candy; it is situated nine miles from the sea, and by land from Matecalo one-and-twenty miles Singales, which is about two German miles, and nine

38. This must be the "Nilvaele" of the itinerary, which name evidently represents Nilgala, a village about seven miles from Nikawetiya. Here the Danish Admiral Ove Giedde spent a night in August 1621, on his return from Bintenne. It was here that, in September 1640, the Dutch Admiral Coster was murdered by the Kandyans (see *C. Lit. Reg.* ii, 350).

39. According to the itinerary "Vintane" is 6 miles from, "Vegamme" (Bibile Wegama), which is 4 miles from "Nilvaele." In English miles the distances are Nilgale to Bibile 14, Bibile to Alutnuwara (Bintenna) 20 to 30, according to route.

40. Ove Giedde was accorded the same kind of reception in August 1621 on his arrival at "Venthanen."

41. On Bintenne or Alutnuwara see White's *Manual of Uva* Chap. iii.

miles from Candy.<sup>42</sup> In the town of Vintane is a great *pagode*: the base is in circumference a hundred and thirty paces (it is) very handsome and high, all white and gilt above, in the manner of a pyramid, but from below ascending ovalwise up to a four-cornered point. And there are yet other *pagodes* besides, also a monastery wherein are monks clad in yellow clothes, and they go along the streets with large *sombareros*;<sup>43</sup> some have slaves with them who carry the *sombareros* and serve them. They are clean shaven after the manner of the monks in this country, only that one sees no corona. They also go with paterrosters<sup>44</sup> in their hands, continually<sup>45</sup> babbling or reading. They are held in great honour, and are free from working and all other burdens. Their monastery is after the manner of our monasteries in this country, with their galleries, corridors and many private chapels which are gilt, wherein stand many figures of men and women, who they say lived holily. These carved figures stand adorned with silvern gilt clothes; they are honored day and night with lamps, and wax candles; they stand on altars where are large chandeliers, which are held by carved naked children. Into the aforesaid chapels come the monks at all hours to read their prayers and breviaries. While there they<sup>46</sup>

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42. In the itinerary the distance by road from Matecalo to Vintane comes to 21½ miles, these being Sinhalese miles according to statement here, each of which the writer says (or means to say), equals two German miles. Reckoning the German mile at about four English miles, this would make the total distance 162 miles, English which is very incorrect, the actual distance from Samman-turai to Alutnuwara via Nilgala by the present road being about 70 miles. The distance of Bintenne from the sea, as here given, is also wrong, the actual distance in a direct line being some 60 miles. The figure given for the distance between Bintenne and Kandy (9 miles) accords with the itinerary, and should equal 18 German miles, that is, about 70 English. From the mention of "Vendro" in the itinerary, it would seem that the course taken from Bintenne was along the present Teldeniya road as far as Galmaloya, thence down to Wenduruwa, up again to join the Teldeniya road, and so to Kandy, —a very roundabout route.—As regards the extraordinary creation of a ghost place "Sigales" owing to a misprint and misunderstanding, see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi, 318 n s.

43. Umbrellas (see *Hobson-Jobson* s. 5. *Sombrero*).

44. Rosaries.

45. The ed. of 1617 omits this word.

46. The ed. of 1617 has "I."

saw them holding their festival and saw their procession going along the town. The chief abbot or priest sits upon an elephant clad in silver and gold, and the abbot holds a golden staff above his head fast with both his hands. Before him go in order other monks with much playing of horns, trumpets cymbals, clanging of bells and basins, which altogether gives a very good harmony. Many lamps and torches are also carried, and there follow many men, women and maidens. The most beautiful maidens, ere the procession goes out and comes in again, perform many wondrous feats with dancing; they are all with naked bodies bare above, the arms, hands and ears half adorned with gold and precious stones; below they have handsome embroidered clothes. These people one sees daily before the *pugodes* and in the chapels doing *sombayo*,<sup>47</sup> which is, to fall flat down on the earth, (then) standing up holding the hands together over the head, and so saying their prayers. Anyone observing these things of the monks, monasteries and processions would certainly judge that our monks had learnt most of their ceremonies from these heathens. They also have the custom of presenting flowers to their idols, which stand everywhere on the roads, some near trees, and others in built niches, as the Jesuits now<sup>48</sup> put the image of Mary everywhere.

Departing from the town of Vintane we came to the *aldea*<sup>49</sup> of the king's son, where all good entertainment was given to us. Being a day's journey from Candy, the king sent his own *pallenkin* with certain elephants, when the general let the other *pallenkin* and the other people from Vintane return. This *pallenkin* of the king's was nobly equipped with gilded coverings; and at all hours he sent people with victuals, fruits and wine, which he has had planted in Candy itself, and it is very good strong wine, as if it were grown in

47. See *infra*, F 5, note 5.

48. The ed. of 1617 omits these two words.

49. From the itinerary it is to be inferred that this was Wendaruwa (see Laurie's *Gaz. C. P.*, which, however, says nothing of any connection with royalty.)

Portugal.<sup>50</sup> Near the town of Candy coming to a river, the general had to stop there, and he was accompanied by many gentlemen *modeliers*, who are captains. Having stopped there an hour, the king sent his chief *modelier*, Emanuel Dics,<sup>51</sup> with many other Portuguese, all of whom had their ears slit<sup>52</sup> serving the aforesaid king. There our general was received and was thus accompanied to the town of Candy by some thousand armed soldiers of all nations, such as Turks, Moors, Singales, Cafferos and renegade Portuguese. He had by him eight flags flying, among which were some that they had recently taken from the Portuguese.<sup>53</sup> In the reception there was much noise of all kinds of strange instruments among all there were shawns and sackbuts,<sup>54</sup> which played several pieces of music in good time. And thus was our general conducted to his lodging past the palace of the king, where they made a great demonstration with firing. Our general was accompanied by Captain Jongerhelt of Flushing, three trumpetors before him, and one that bore the bannerol or prince's flag; he had also with him four other attendants. There was also carried a silk Spanish or Portuguese<sup>55</sup> flag all trailing, which was presented to the king, in return for which the king gave another Portuguese flag that he had captured from the Portuguese. Having come into the lodging, all was arranged and put in order, not in the Singales but in the Portuguese fashion and Emanuel Dios with other Portuguese remained to keep the general company.

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50. That this was *grape* wine, the produce of vines planted by Vimaladharmā, is proved by the statement of de Weert, *infra*, C 1, note 79. (The footnote on this subject in C. I. I. Reg vi, 325, needs emendation).

51. Manual Dias, a renegade Portuguese, captured at the great defeat of the army of Pedro Lopes de Sousa in 1594 (see *infra*).

52. Lit. "cut up" (*opgheneden*). On the boring of renegades' ears see C. A. S. JI, xx, 339 n. 4). Tennent (*Ceylon* ii, 35) speaks of "Portuguese prisoners, many of them deprived of their ears," which is one of his blunders.

53. See *infra*.

54. The ed. of 1617 alters "sackebouten" to "sackpijpen" (bagpipes).

55. Spain and Portugal were then invited. With characteristic inaccuracy Tennent (ii 35) describes this incident thus:—"Spilberg, besides the banner of the United Provinces, caused a standard-bearer to lay at the feet of the king the flag of Portugal *with the blazon reversed* (*Italics in orig.*)."

In the afternoon the king sent three horses equipped with their saddles, and begged the general to come to him. Accordingly he went to the king, taking with him some presents. After the king had received him, the presents were laid upon a carpet the king clothed in white stood up and showing the aforesaid presents to his young prince and princess,<sup>56</sup> began to walk along the hall with the general. Having had some conversation with one another, the king gave the general his permission to go to his lodging. He said: "Tomorrow we shall speak again. Go and rest a bit: I know that you are tired with travelling." Ere the general departed he made his musicians play, to the great pleasure of the king. On his departure all the shawms, trumpets and sackbuts<sup>57</sup> played.

The next day the king of Candy again sent the general his horses and had him come to court, where he was again received ceremoniously. The king speaking with him of the business regarding cinnamon and pepper, the general was not willing to agree to the price that the king demanded, so they let the talk of business drop, and came to other discourses. The general wishing to take leave of the king, the king asked him what he would give therefor. The general answered that he had not come there for pepper or cinnamon, but simply to obey the command of his excellency, which was to offer the king friendship on behalf of his princely excellency, and if he had need of assistance, that his princely excellency would send it him against the Portuguese his enemies. The king listening to this repeated it to his lords, who received it thankfully with great satisfaction. The king took the general in his arm and lifted him up,<sup>58</sup> saying: "All the pepper and cinnamon that I have ready is given to you;"—which was little, and might be worth here in Holland about three thousand pounds Flemish, making the excuse that we had come upon him suddenly as if fallen from heaven, so that he had no cinnamon or pepper ready, since he had never in his life traded in it, and also no one might gather the

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56. See *infra*.

57. The ed. of 1617 has "bagpipes."

58. *cf.* de Weert's statement, *infra*, C 1.

cinnamon, yea he even caused it to be destroyed on account of his enemies the Portuguese, that these should not come and get it ; and for us to stay there longer was impossible, on account of the heavy rain, which was the reason that no cinnamon could be obtained, also that the *mosson* from the east was beginning, whereby we lay upon a lee shore at Matecalo.

Between the king and our general there were many conversations every day. The king showed the general all the arms that they had captured from the Portuguese, which were cuirasses, morions and others, also all his *pagodes*, which are many and costly, and which have more than four or five thousand carved figures, some as high as masts, for which special towers are made very costly and cleverly wrought of beautiful stone, all vaulted and gilt ; and indeed their *pagodes* far surpass the Popish churches in handsome building. After the general had seen all this he returned to the king who asked him what he thought of the *pagodes*. He answered that he had rather see living personages than dead figures which could do no service at all. The king asked him if our *pagodes* were like the Portuguese adorned with images, naming Maria, Petro, Paulo, and others, and if we also believed in Christ. The general answered that we were Christians like the Portuguese. He also wished to be informed of what we had in our churches. We showed him the bare wall, but said that we had in our hearts the true God who had created heaven and earth and all of us. The king asked once more if our God could not die, whereupon admirable proof was given him that no mortal man could be divine and we said to him openly that his figures were in vain, as in all cases they are of dead persons. He was also openly admonished that he should not rely upon his *pagodes* but upon God who had created all ; which the king well understood, and pointed to his palace and city, saying : “ All this had God given me.” He deplored that his Singales were so greedy, without conscience, that they steal and take all that they can conceal. Thereupon the general answered that we could conceal nothing, but God could see it in heaven, and what he did not punish here would not remain unpunished hereafter. The king



understanding this well made a fine speech, and said : " It is true, for such as one sows one shall reap."<sup>59</sup> Other conversations took place too long to be given here.

The next day the king again sent the horses and had the general come to his court as guest with all his people into a large hall that was hung all round with tapestry, where were placed many Spanish chairs and a table on which all was prepared in the manner of Christians, and enlivened with much music and other playing. The general presented the king with the portrait of his princely excellency sitting on horseback in full armour in form and size of horse and person, as he appeared at the battle in Flanders *A.D.* 1600 on 2 July,<sup>60</sup> with which the king was wonderfully pleased. The plan of this battle was described to him, and also the position of our United Netherlands, and how the States General under the direction of his princely excellency carried on the war against the king of Portugal and Castille.

The general was for five days most of the time with the king. The king was never tired of asking about the condition, position and nature of our lands. The king had the portrait of his excellency hung in his room that it might always be in his sight. The general was brought into the chamber of the queen, where she sat with her children the prince and princess, all clad in the manner of Christians,<sup>61</sup> the king showing the general the aforesaid personages, which is a great honour and favour. The king said : " See, I, my queen, prince and princess will help to carry on their shoulders the stones, lime and other things, if the states and his princely excellency be pleased to come and make a castle here in my country : they should be allowed to choose for that purpose such place, harbour, or bay, as they shall find suitable." To this end the king gave our general divers letters, and made him his ambassador to negotiate the matters that might be concluded with the States General and his excellency. His

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59. The good Calvinist diarist did not realise that the king was simply enunciating the Buddhist doctrine of *karma*.

60. When Prince Maurice defeated the Archduke Albert near Nieuwpoort. The ed. of 1617 has " 1602 " for " 1600."

61. Dona Catharina never abjured Christianity, as Vimaladharmasarakirti had done (cf. *infra*.)

royal majesty of Candy also honoured our general with presents<sup>62</sup> and titles. The king asked the general for some of his instruments of music, which he liberally presented to the king, with two persons who could play very well on all instruments, which the king took with such gratitude that it seemed as if no greater friendship could be shown him. These two persons are master Hans Rempell and Erasmus Matsberger.<sup>63</sup> These aforesaid persons the king took into his court, and himself began to learn to play on several instruments. Moreover the prince and princess made Erasmus Matsberger their secretary.<sup>64</sup> The king with his prince and princess began to learn to speak the Netherlands language, saying: "Candy is now Flanders." So that the king showed himself delighted with everything, and our general was very welcome, who had instructed him well in everything, so that we do not doubt that he will be a great friend to us, and become a greater enemy to the Portuguese.<sup>65</sup>

The general departed from Candy,<sup>66</sup> taking his adieu of his royal majesty named in the Singales language Fimala Derma Suri Ada. (The meaning of these names will be given in another place in the history of Celon, of what has occurred since the death of the great king Darma.<sup>67</sup>) To our general were furnished many elephants and men in order to return to his ships, also giving him large arrows called *sergonios*,

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62. Among these was the large pyrope, of which the first edition of the journal gives an exact representation, calling it a "carbuncle or ruby."

63. In a previous part of this journal, the writer, describing the doings of the Dutch at "Mulaly" (Mohilla, one of the Comoro Islands), says:—"The 27 ditto (Feb 1602) the general again sent the captain of the country some presents with master Hans Trumpeter and Erasmus Matsbergher, who let him hear music on divers instruments, in which he took great pleasure."

64. See *infra*, D 2, at note 49. Tennent (ii 36) says:—"The admiral at the request of the king, left behind him his secretary (sic), with two musicians of his band."

65. The writer little realized how soon the friendly relations would be destroyed.

66. No dates are given from the day Spilbergen left Matecalo (6th July) to the day of his return (28th July). Allowing six days for the journey each way, the Dutch general appears to have spent nine or ten days in the royal town.

67. See *infra*, where no explanation is given of the names. "Ada" appears to be a corruption of *adaka-sim* royal highness.

wishing thereby to corroborate their great trust and sincerity,<sup>68</sup> also a gilt *somberero*, with four or five slaves to serve him. Thus the general returned through the whole country free and easy without any cost, except only some presents that he gave voluntarily. And he was (absent) on this expedition two-and-twenty days.

The general having come on board began to make preparations for the ships to depart towards *ultimo* August, as then was to be expected the *mosson* from the east. Finding himself weak in men (only two-and-twenty souls),<sup>69</sup> he gave orders to transfer some of the crew of the *Ram*, which had still five-and-forty men, against which some disrespectfully set themselves, but the general knew so well how to check that, that equally well he effected his purpose, and with weighty reasons persuaded the others and overcame their rash plump disobedience, so as to make their conscience and even judgment cause them to stand ashamed and convinced whenever anything is said on the subject.<sup>70</sup> The general put all these questions on one side, and did what was needful for the success of our voyage.

The 5th August there followed from Candy the *modeliar* or great captain Emanuel Dios, accompanied by other *modeliars* and one hundred-and-twenty soldiers, who was sent by the king to view the ships and to speak with the general about looking for some suitable place for the ships to anchor in at other times. Thereupon many discussions and written promises took place between them, which were sworn to in evidence of their trust. The aforementioned *modeliar* was also shown all honour and brought on board by two shallops of armed men, whereat he was greatly gratified.

The 8th August we saw a sail to seaward. The general had his shallop manned, which captured the sail, and found her to be a galliot of about forty lasts, new and well built, whereon were six-and-forty men, both Portuguese, *Toupases*,

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68. See *supra* note 28.

69. Lit. "eaters"

70. From a later entry we learn that Guion Lefort, the vice-admiral on the *Ram* was deposed on account of being suspected of complicity in a conspiracy and mutiny, doubtless that here spoken of.

*Mesticos* and *Marineros*, who had some spingards and two bases, with many pikes and partisans, but allowed her to be captured by the general's shallop, in which were fourteen men. The captain of the galliot was named Antonio de Costa Montero. She was laden with *arrecca*, of little value to us, and contained some pepper and cinnamon. The *modeliar* Emanuel Dios seeing that was fully convinced that we were enemies of the Portuguese, and some of the weapons were presented to him, and the galliot with the cargo was presented to the king, regarding which a man was sent expressly to Candy to convey the news thither. The king caused great rejoicings to be made.

The 9th ditto the aforesaid *modeliar* departed, and there went with him once more Guion Lefort and Hertoch Philip in order to further the despatch of the promised cinnamon and pepper, which arrived very shortly after their departure, —60 canasters of cinnamon, 16 bales of pepper, 4 bales of turmeric. Guion Lefort coming to Candy with his company was also well received, and received some gold rings as a present, as also Hertoch Philips. There was more cinnamon there but the road, which is long, takes much time, so that we could not stay there longer on account of the *mosson*. During the time that Guion Lefort was away the ships were provided and cleared.

The 11th ditto we again captured a champagne<sup>71</sup> with *arrecca*, which was presented with the cargo to the king of Matecalo, who had formerly given the general leave to capture the Portuguese, and had to that end given assistance, but now made protests that they captured the Portuguese off his territory: but he must have done this out of dissimulation, as he is neutral in regard to contribution.<sup>72</sup>

The 12th ditto we saw to seaward another *champagne*, which we went to and brought into the roadstead (it was also laden with *arrecca*), upon which were twenty men, *mesticos* and *toupas*. The *arrecca* we sold daily in exchange for precious stones and refreshments.

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71. A small vessel (see *Hobson-Jobson s.v.* (Sampan)). †

72. cf. *Supra*, note 22.

Meanwhile Antonio de Costa Montero escaped from us through bad watching, for which the person of Claes Cales and others were punished. It appeared that some Portuguese wished to ransom the ships ; but it was more to detain us, so that the *mosson* should surprise us. In these three ships were about a hundred men, of whom some stayed to serve us, and a part were sent to Candy ; the rest were pitched overboard, and escaped by swimming ashore.

The 23rd August an accident took place once again on the *Ram*, to the gunner Houtepen, through careless handling, in that while firing a piece and reloading it he did not wipe it out well, so that he lost his life.

The 1st September Guion Lefort with his company came on board from Candy ; who brought letters from the king with some presents ; and as the *mosson* was at hand we resolved to depart the next day, seeing that the Portuguese were only attempting deceit in order to have the *mosson* fall upon us, and so to have a lee shore, whereby we should have run great danger : therefore we left at night between the Monday and Tuesday. The general first went on land on the *play* of Matecalo, where were some two hundred Singales who sold all kinds of wares, asking them if he was indebted to anyone, if they had any demand to make that they should speak, his shallops were there with goods for payment, but each said to him that they had nothing to demand. So we set sail in the night of the 2nd ditto, setting fire to two Portuguese ships laden with *arrecca* : we had no time to sell the *arrecca*, and we also wished thereby to show the Singales that we are enemies of the Portuguese.

Thus, God be praised, we departed from the island of Celon, where our general had run no small peril, both with the king of Matecalo, who is a contributory of the Portuguese, as also in the journey to Candy ; the far road and the great fatigue : but all was done in order to follow out the orders of the owners and in hope of our lading. When leaving the land two men ran away, who were the gunner and the carpenter of the admiral<sup>73</sup>

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73. See infra, C 1. note 6.

Thus in God's name we departed the 3rd September for Achien in the island of Sumatra.

**B. 2- SHORT ACCOUNT OR HISTORY OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE ISLAND OF CELON SINCE THE DEATH OF THE KING RAGU, AND HOW THE KINGDOM OF CANDY SITUATED IN THE ISLAND OF CELON FREED ITSELF FROM THE PORTUGUESE RULE.<sup>74</sup>**

The king in Celon named Mara Ragu<sup>75</sup> had three sons, lawful heirs and a bastard son named Darma, who was born in Setavacca, where the kings hold their court in Selon. This bastard Darma was got by a *bailliarderse*,<sup>76</sup> who are women that the king maintains for their good and skilful dancing. This Darma was educated in warfare, conducting himself bravely and wisely, so that he managed to draw the hearts of the soldiers to himself, whereby he was emboldened to proceed to an evil deed, killing and murdering his father Mara Ragu and his three brothers the lawful heirs, when having the power in his hands he came into the town of Settavacca, and there caused himself to be received and acknowledged as king of Celon, exercising great tyranny over the Singales, who bore no good feeling towards him on account of the wicked deed before mentioned. That he was no barber's son as some write, we inquired into carefully, but a son of Mara Ragu as above related.<sup>77</sup> It may well be that he was an amateur of the surgeon's art, as he was a brave soldier and a lover of much knowledge. He made great warfare on the Portuguese, so that he captured all their forts (and) *trancqueros*<sup>78</sup> except Coulombo and Mannar.<sup>79</sup>

74. The facts here recorded appear to have been collected during the stay of the Dutch in Ceylon (cf. *infra*).

75. This appears to be a corruption of "Maha Rajju (ruwo)." The person meant is Mayadunne.

76. A Corrupt form of Port. *bailladeira*, dancers.

77. On the above see C. A. S. JI. xx 271 n. 5, 272, n. 1.

78. Stockades (Port. *tranqueira*).

79. Regarding the warfare waged by Raja Sinha I (here curiously called 'Darma,' through some confusion, apparently, with Dharma-pala) against the Portuguese, see C. A. S. JI. xx 173-395.

In this aforesaid island of Celon is another kingdom named Candy, which never became subject or submissive to the kings that hold their court in Setavacca. The kingdom of Candy is very powerful, rich in inhabitants mostly Singales, who would never acknowledge the aforesaid Darma as king, but waged war with him, and were assisted by the Portuguese.

The Singales ever hating the aforesaid Darma for his tyranny so brought about matters that he died of poison<sup>80</sup>. These Singales, who are the greatest proportion of the inhabitants, straightway<sup>81</sup> made terms with the Portuguese, and so remain in peace without giving any, or little, tribute to the Portuguese; so that the death of the king Darma formed a great entrance and road for the Portuguese in Celon, who since make fortresses everywhere in all harbours, bays and places according to their good pleasure. They let the Singales freely use their heathen ceremonies and *pagodes*: yea, many Portuguese unite and marry with the Singales, so that they have an *oly poderigo*<sup>82</sup> among each other; from which it appears that the Portuguese their affection tends more towards riches than towards the Romish faith or religion. The Portuguese live much amongst the heathenish Singales, in divers places where they have no church, hermitage, chapel, nor monks, priest, or sacristan, being like the inhabitants in many things.

At the same time there happened to die the king of Candy,<sup>83</sup> where at that time the great *modeliar* was Fimala Derma Suri Ada. The aforementioned Fimala Derma Suri Ada had in his youth been brought from Candy to Coulombo. He was the son of a great prince in Candy who was also great *modeliar*. This aforementioned Fimala was baptised in Coulombo and given the name of the brother of King Philip of Spain and Portugal, Don Joan Daustria.<sup>84</sup> From Coulombo he was taken to Goa, and was there at the time that Emanuel Sosa Cottin<sup>85</sup> was governor in Goa, and also (when) Mattheo

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80. This does not accord with the statements of other authorities (see C. A. S. JI. xx. 395.)

81. By an oversight, the ed. of 1617 here omits a couple of lines

82. *Olla podrida* (Spain), hotchpotch.

83. Dom Filippe (see C. A. S. JI. xx. 391)

84. For the history of Dom Joao de Austria and the events hereafter recorded, see C. A. S. JI. xx. 294. n. 5, 389 et. seq.

85. Manual de Sousa Coutinho (1588-91).

Albercke<sup>86</sup> came from Portugal as viceroy. And so this Fimala Derma Suri Ada was baptised a Christian, became big and strong, was very sturdy on his legs, and a man of great strength and clever of wit. He was made by the Portuguese, as before said, great *modeliar* or captain in Candy, this great *modeliar* being the next person to the king, who had much authority and conducted the carrying on of war.

The king of Candy being dead, (and) this Don Ian, who had the soldiers in his interest, and was also loved by the Singales, as he was likewise a Singales, of noble birth and house in Candy, made himself king, and smote dead and expelled all the Portuguese who were in Candy and dwelt there freely, setting himself in open warfare against the Portuguese. There was in Candy a lawful heir, a daughter of the aforesaid deceased king's, who was taken by the Portuguese to Mannar, and baptized by the name of Dona Catharina. The Portuguese came with a great force from Goa and other places, under the command of Petro Lopes de Sosa,<sup>87</sup> general and captain of Mallacca, to Candy, bringing with them Dona Catharina, daughter of the deceased king, and lawful heir of Candy, in order to place her on the throne by force. And the aforesaid Lopes de Sosa was to marry this Dona Catharina when she was established in her kingdom, and he was to have the rule there in Candy, as married to the queen.

So the aforesaid Lopes betook himself with his force to Candy, causing Don Ian to retreat, who was then in Candy. Don Ian betook himself into the *watto*<sup>88</sup> and woods, where he cut off supplies from the general Lopes ; and all Portuguese that ventured on the roads or outside of Candy were smitten dead, so that the general Lopes was forced to withdraw to a mile from Candy, to a place named Ballene, in order to give battle to Don Ioan Daustria, otherwise in Singales style named

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86. Mathias de Albuquerque (1591-97).

87. Pedro Lopes de Sousa.

88. Port. *Mato*, Jungle.



Fimala Derma Suria. Thus these aforesaid personages *Anno* 1590<sup>89</sup> on a Sunday each with his force fell very fiercely upon the other ; for the general Lopes was well provided with good soldiers, and Don Ian likewise with many of his inhabitants. The Portuguese had forty big elephants that were accustomed to war ; but Don Joan fell upon them in such wise, continuing to fight with pikes, *flesios*,<sup>90</sup> *sergonsios*<sup>91</sup> and other weapons, that the Portuguese had no time to rest ; they were also so beset that they could obtain no food. The aforesaid Don Ioan separated the Portuguese from each other, and they were altogether defeated. Petro Lopes de Sosa was left there dead, Dona Catharina prisoner, all the elephants captured, and many Portuguese made slaves. By this victory Don Ioan then established himself firmly as king in Candy and married Dona Catharina himself, by whom he had the present prince and princess.<sup>92</sup> Dona Catharina was at that time between 9 and 10 years old.<sup>93</sup>

The cause of this victory cannot be ascribed, judging in human fashion, to the strength of the Singales : it was, next to God who holds all armies in his hand, the skilful conduct of Don Ioan, who again had most of his soldiers of foreign nations, because the Singales are indeed fine men but love great ease, people that like to eat good food and to do little work. They are also people that are almost universally well off in goods, houses and other things, priding themselves much of their *Castes* and consider it a great disgrace to do any work. And they eat alone, have their food served on *bonnannes*<sup>94</sup> leaves, always drink out of *gorgelanes*,<sup>95</sup> that is, out of a pot with a spout without putting their mouth thereto,<sup>96</sup> and whatever they have touched and have not eaten they throw away for the dogs : no slaves so wretched as to be willing to eat such as has once been touched.

89. An error for 1594.

90. Arrows (Port. *Flecha* or *frecha*).

91. See *supra*, note 28.

92. See *infra*, C 1.

93. De Weert (*infra*, C 1), on the authority of Vimaladharmasirimis, says she was twelve.

94. Banana, Plantain (cf *infra*).

95. See *Hobson-Jobson* s.s. "Goglet."

96. See the picture and description in Knox's *Hist. Rel.* 87.

After the Portuguese had had this defeat, Don Ioan Daustria, now king of Candy, had his kingdom free, and destroyed all the *tranqueros* of the Portuguese, as they had almost all been smitten dead, captured and fled to Coulombo. So that now Don Ioan having peace had a very costly palace built in Candy, and also many towers and *pagodes*, at which all the Portuguese that had been captured had to work and he caused all his buildings to be made in the Christian style. The aforementioned Don Ioan also had his court fortified with ramparts,<sup>97</sup> and (had) divers *tranqueros* (made) in certain suitable places, where he constantly holds a good and strong garrison, well mounted, so that they can hardly reach Candy, to wit, his foes, the Portuguese. He is always occupied with buildings and in trying novelties in order to withstand his enemies. He captured in the defeat of the general Lopes some hundred *banderos*.<sup>98</sup> He presented our general with many weapons of all kinds that he had captured in his victory.

Three or four years after the defeat of the general Lopes, Dom Jeronimo des Ovedo, <sup>99</sup> general of the conquest in Celon, made many attempts and efforts to conquer the kingdom of Candy, but was not able to effect anything of importance, until at last he came with a great force by command of the king of Spain and Portugal, bringing with him many *cavallieros fidalgos*<sup>100</sup> from Goa, of whom there are whole dozens in number, intending to swallow up Candy at once. He came to the aforesaid place of Ballene, where formerly the battle with the general Lopes took place, where Dom Ioan king of Candy met him, and there they gave battle to each other, which was very fierce and also lasted long; and but that Dom Jeronimo kept himself with his men so firmly serried, they would all have been slain like the general Lopes; but he managed to keep his force in order, retreating and fighting, although he was pursued and driven back as far as Coulombo. It was reckoned to the great honour of

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97. See *Mahan* xciv.

98. Port. *Bandeira*, flag.

99. Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

100. The ed. of 1617 has "hidalgos" (the Spanish form).

the aforementioned Jeronimo that he brought himself and most of his men *in salvo* in such order while fighting for five days ; although indeed many Portuguese fell in the fighting, as well as of the king's troops.<sup>101</sup> Since that time the Portuguese have made no further attempt with any forces against the king of Candy, but daily make skirmishes from their *tranqueros* and some excursions. The *tranqueros* both of the king and of the Portuguese lie at a mile and some at half a mile from each other. Frequently by surprises and ruses, and also by bribing with money, which also succeeds there, they have now and then captured a *tranquerin*<sup>102</sup> from each other.

About eight months ago, on Easter day *Anno* 1602,<sup>103</sup> Emanuel Dios, now great *modeliar* in Candy, who was a youth at the time of the general Lopes, and having been taken prisoner by the king remained in Candy to serve, returned once more to the Portuguese in Coulombo, to Don Jeronimo des Ovedo, and suggested many plans for killing the king of Candy, who was very welcome, and was much trusted, and also let his ears be clipped, since all the Portuguese that serve in Candy must also have their ears adorned in the manner of the Singales<sup>104</sup>. This aforesaid Emanuel Dios set to work to carry out his double dealing. Having agreed with Don Jeronimo, and a silver cross having been brought before him, he was sworn thereby that he should go with five other Portuguese, namely Christaen Jacobino, Albert Primero, Ian Pererro,<sup>105</sup> being all three captains,

101. This is not the *famosa retirada* (famous retreat), which took place in 1603. It may be the engagement recorded by Conto in Dec. XII v. i (see C. A. S. Jl. xx. 441-4), which took place in 1599-1600.

102. This appears to represent the Port. diminutive form *tranqueirinha*. It is used again below.

103. As Easter day in 1602 fell on 2 April (O.S.), this must have been written at Achin in December. The events here described are not recorded by any Portuguese writer, as far as I know. It will be seen that the information was obtained from the king himself.

104. This is a very confused statement: the writer, of course, does not mean that Manuel Dias had his ears clipped by the Portuguese he is but repeating what he told us above.

105. Apparently Christovao Jacome (?), Alberto Pinhiero, and Joao Pereira.

with two other soldiers to Candy, betaking themselves to the king in order to serve him, and so to find occasion to murder the king. This aforesaid Emanuel Dios succeeded in persuading Don Jeronimo of further opportunities of easily murdering the king, for which purpose he received a large sum of money in order to execute the deed and to buy over others to his side to help in that deed. The aforementioned Dios was promised that if he should accomplish his task he should become king in Candy: in default of nothing great promises, for the Portuguese held for certain that if the king were dead they would easily get to the kingdom of Candy. This Don Jeronimo thought that the affair would without doubt have its issue, since it was so confirmed and sworn to on the silver cross. (How Christianly they live in Goa, and everywhere in the East Indies, has been described enough by others: how many murders take place there every night through private quarrels and lusts.)<sup>106</sup>

This Emanuel Dios departed first as if he had escaped from Coulombo, came to Candy to the king, and related all that he had arranged with Don Jeronimo. Don Jeronimo had secretly stationed many Portuguese and other soldiers near the *tranquerin* of Ballene,<sup>107</sup> in order straightway to attack the latter as soon as the deed was accomplished, to wit, when the king was murdered. They imagined that the aforesaid Dios had gone to notify the king that the aforesaid five Portuguese wished to come and serve him with fidelity, and that the king would send orders to his *tranquerin* to receive them when they came over: but other orders were sent there. The king caused the fort of Ballene to be filled with soldiers by night, and himself went into the fort. The aforesaid five Portuguese arrived, having with them five *transchados*<sup>108</sup>, which are knives from Iappan, were taken in by Emanuel Dios, and when they came inside

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106. The reference is evidently to chap. 92 of Linschoten's *Voyage*.

107. This was the Sinhalese fort. A few years later D. Jeronimo de Azevedo built and garrisoned a stone fortress at Balane (see Boc. 45).

108. Port. *terçado* (older form *treçado*), a short broad, curved sword.

were led through several chambers to where the king was, and were straightway seized and bound. These Portuguese had some Singales who served them, who seeing that, one of them escaped through the *trancqueros*, notifying this to the Portuguese that lay in ambush. But for the escape of this Singales, the king would have surprised all that lay in ambush. These and such like ruses they practise on both sides, wherefore the Portuguese have a saying "*Esto pretto de Candy sabo mouto*"<sup>109</sup> they mean thereby the king. These five Portuguese remain in Candy rigidly imprisoned. The king relating all this to our general presented him with one of their Iapanese *transchados* with which they intended to kill the king. For this faithful service that Emanuel Dios performed and others besides (because he is a brave soldier of great intelligence and skill), in place of being king as Don Jeronimo had promised him, the king made him his great *modeliar*, which is a high office.

In June last while we were in Celon the aforesaid Emanuel Dios traversed the *matto* with a body of soldiers, and surprised a *tranquerin* wherein was stationed a captain named Simon Corero, smiting dead most of the soldiers, and brought great booty to Candy.<sup>110</sup>

This king of Candy has a fairly large territory, with many towns well built and a pretty good number of people, who are all well-to-do folk, respectable as to their clothes, to wit, as far as the middle of the body, and a *Carpous*<sup>111</sup> on the head. Some that are of large means wear *roppilios*<sup>112</sup> and doublets, much behung with rings in their ears adorned with precious stones, and fine creeses at their

109. Correctly, "*Este preto de Candia sabe muito*," meaning literally, "This black (man) of Kandy knows much," or freely, "This nigger of Kandy knows a thing or two." As regards Vimaladharmas's blackness, see *infra*, C 1.

110. Regarding Simao Correa (who was a Sinhalese) see C. A. S. JI. xx. 417. n. 1. I have found no other reference to the affair here described.

111. Port. *carapuça*, a kind of cap.

112. Apparently for *roupilha*, dim. of *roupa* (Port), any loose garment.

sides.<sup>113</sup> Their women in like manner go with their breasts bare, being very shamefast when they meet men. Their clothes are neat, and they themselves well fashioned in form and feature; their head dress consists of their own hair, without any fillet of silk or anything else: they manage to fasten it behind the head in such manner as if they wore coifs; their hair lies smoothed back very neatly. In this fashion go all the Singales, great and small. Round their neck, they have silver and gilt necklaces, and rings on their fingers and toes, also round their arms, adorned with precious stones. Their houses are handsome and well built. The women know well how to prepare the food. They live lazily and daintily. They have a country abundant in fowls, fish, deer, peacocks, pigs, butter, milk, and honey; all kinds of fruits, *annanasses*<sup>114</sup>. *bonnanes*, *coques*, *jaques*, *manges*, oranges, lemons and other very good fruit; but no oxen, cows, or buffaloes may they eat,<sup>115</sup> nor drink any wine. Among these Singales dwell many Moors, Turks and other heathens, who have all different laws. The *bramos*<sup>116</sup> are there in great number, who are very superstitious; they are held in honour by other nations, these *bramos* eat nothing that has had life, they also worship any such animals as they see first in the morning (as one may read in Ian Huyghen<sup>117</sup>). Our general asking them why they had this law, they answered that their god had commanded it. Proceeding to further discussions, we said that to our god belonged all that is upon the earth and in the water; and because we are big people and belong to him, he also gives us everything to eat freely, to which they gave no answer. The custom in Celon, Candy and everywhere in the island is, that a man marries as many wives as he is able to maintain. The young girls are hardly

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113. cf. *infra*, C 1. The crease appears to have been introduced into Ceylon at an early period, if we are to accept the first quotation in *Hobson-Jobson* s. 5 "Crease" as referring to this weapon. (see also H. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon*. 532). In Baldaeus *Ceylon* chap. iv. the English translator has twice wrongly rendered *knits* by "Seymetar"

114. Pineapples.

115. Cf. the statements of Bree and Rijcks *infra*.

116. Brahmans Buddhist monks are apparently meant.

117. See Linschoten's *Voyage* (Hak. soc. ed.), 1. 224, 248.

ten years old, when they are wedded and bedded<sup>118</sup> They have also the custom of burning their dead. The country is very rich in rice, which is exported to other places; because on the sea-shore in all convenient harbours trade is carried on and there come there large canoes and *champanes*, but all must trade with letters of licence from Portuguese<sup>119</sup>, for which they give little. For their safety they submit to give the Portuguese tribute; but if they wished, the Portuguese would be able to do little or nothing; so that the Portuguese are contented with little. The king of Matecalo, who has much territory and people, pays us tribute, and that his people may sail the sea and coast freely, the value of about 50 ducats a year, which he yet pays in rice.

The King of Candy is the only one that wages war without paying tribute, with two brothers, who were also formerly with the Portuguese, and baptized in Coulombo. These help the King of Candy: they are named Don Emanuel and Don Louwis, prince of Set Corle<sup>120</sup>. Other kings may indeed assist the King of Candy, but it takes place secretly. The King of Candy has his territory mostly on both sides of the river of Trinquanemale<sup>121</sup>, which river runs past Vintane, a town where the King builds his galleys and *champaines*<sup>122</sup>.

The aforesaid island is very rich in cinnamon, and (suitable) for growing pepper, but the Singales have no fancy for it. Only near Coulombo where the Portuguese are is cinnamon gathered. In the Kingdom of Candy is every kind of metal, of iron and copper that is dug there, but little in Matecalo. In Candy are also mountains that yield gold and silver<sup>123</sup>, but the King will not allow it to be sought

118. Cf. the statement above regarding Dona Cathrina.

119. See *infra*, D 2.

120. I do not know who these were. P. du Jarric, in his *Histoire* 11. 798 mentions a "king of Setecorlas" (Seven Korales), whose son was baptised by a Jesuit Father in 1607 or 1608, and who himself desired baptism; but no names are given.

121. The ed. of 1617 has "Trinquamale."

122. Cf. *supra*, note 71. These galleys and *champanas* must have been purely State and pleasure boats for local use, as they would not have gone farther down the Mahaweli-ganga, and certainly not upwards (see *C. Lit. Reg.* v 78 et seq.)

123. Very little gold, and no silver or copper, is found in Ceylon.

for. The precious stones, which are mostly in Candy, may not be sought for or traded in by any but in the presence of the King. If he desires any he causes search to be made for only as many as he just then wants: he gathers none for gain. The general persisted very stubbornly and strongly in regard to this, in order to be able to trade with him for a parcel of stones, but he would listen to nothing on the subject. He had also some special secret (reason) for this. In order to prevent our asking to trade with him for stones, he gave us some two hundred stones of all kinds, such as rubies, *bacan*<sup>124</sup>, garnets and others, and said; "This I give you but I do not wish to sell any." So our general ceased from soliciting any more. Notwithstanding we got some good parcels here and there, but in a secret way. On the *play* of Matecalo many stones were offered for sale that had been brought secretly from Candy<sup>125</sup>. The afore-said island is very rich in all kinds of precious stones and in many other materials, as before said, only it is not permitted that one seek and dig for them. I passed through some rivers where we took out the sand and washed it with clean water, in which we found garnets: yea, in the city of Candy whenever it has rained they searched in the drains in which the water runs, from which I have seen divers stones obtained, but they had to bring them all to the King. The country has much crystal. If one dig therein one will find many kinds of riches, such as crystal, many metals and other things, if they might be taken out. It has also much fine stone serving for building much good and suitable wood for making ships and houses, also many places where they have their salt. So that this island is certainly the most fruitful of which one can speak or write. It is suitable for planting and sowing all that is raised in other countries, such as oil, wheat and wine, all can grow well if it be planted or sown there, as we found by experience, and drank of the wines that grow there.<sup>126</sup> It has also plenty of cotton, divers wood and other roots for making dyes, ginger, tur-

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124. See *supra*, note 26.

125. Cf. *Supra*.

126. See *supra*, note 50.



meric *cardomoma* and *mirrabelanes* can grow well there, we also found some nuts with *folie* or *mases*<sup>127</sup>. It is also a very healthy country and pretty temperate in atmosphere and heat. So that in this island there is nothing lacking for the needs of the body. Above all is to be deplored that they lack the highest thing the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ. It is to be hoped the Lord will grant them better knowledge, because they are a people that are very patient, not stiffnecked: one may freely tell them all their need and they are quite willing to be instructed. Even if they are convinced that their idolatry avails nothing, which one may freely say to them, they will answer you friendly that that it is the custom of the country, yea they often acknowledge that their idols are of no value. Dona Cathrina visits no *pagodes*<sup>128</sup>. Don Joan the King what he does is mostly to please the Singales. To the aforesaid island of Celon resort many pilgrims who visit the mountain of Adam, to view the footsteps of Adam, whither Don Joan himself once went, and caused the measurement of the footsteps to be placed in Candy<sup>129</sup>. When they have their festival much offering is made there. By such means the King knows how to get the money from the Singales, begins and builds many *pagodes*; some he allows to remain unfinished, for which he often causes contributions to be given, and all the same they remain unfinished. The money that mostly circulates there is silver *larins*,<sup>130</sup> also gold and silver *fannons*<sup>131</sup>.

The great *pagodes* that one sees as one sails from Pointo de Gallo to Matecalo near the second shoals,<sup>132</sup> the afore-named king once journeyed there in order to view the great

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127. Mace (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v.) *Foelie* is the Dutch name, which seems to be derived from an Indo-Port. *Fula* (flower, blossom) -Konkani *pula*, Hind. *phul*.

128. Cf. supra, note 61.

129. See the description of Ceylon at the end of Bree's Journal.

130. The ed. of 1617 has "laurins."

131. See *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Fanam."

132. On the maps drawn a large dagoba inland between Adam's Peak and some hills north of Dondra: this is described as "White showing *pagoda grande*." At "Trincoli" (Tirukkivil) a dagoba is also shown; and this seems to be the one referred to here (cf. infra). or there may be confusion with the Kataragama devale.

image that starts therein in the form of a man standing straight upright with a bare sword in his hand, his arm, raised to strike. This aforementioned King ere he journeyed to the *pagode* had many a time jested about the great image, but when he came into the great *pagode* that sword of the great personage's shook and rattled. The King seeing this was terrified. This the Singales relate as having so happened, the which the devil through his magicians and idol-servers can bring to pass<sup>133</sup>. This country is full of these horrors. The Singales believe firmly that the world will not perish as long as this *pagode* continues to stand. In Candy they have their images of deceased men, especially of their great lords. One sees a horrible thing there when they feel ill or unwell: at once they hasten to an image like a devil, to which they offer, for which purpose they always have in their houses a basket in which they collect that which they offer to the devil, and pray to be helped by him. In other places in Celon they pray much to an

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133. Sir Thos. Herbert (*A relation of Some Yeares Travaile* 1634, p. 190) has the following quaint and incorrect version of the above:—"Pilgrims from remote parts apace flocke hither, where a top a high mount (sic) is conspicuously set the *Idaea* of a horrible *Caco-demon*, touching which *Pagod*, the *Syngales* (their Priests) *Cronography*. (sic). That once *Iohna* (sic.) their king held this monstrous *Doemon* in derision, but entering the sacred Temple, he (in great agonie) beheld the Idoll Devill breath forth fury against him shewing it by his fiery eyes and flaming semiter (threatfully held against him), whereat the relenting king amazed returnes, becomes penitentiary, and ecchoe, sorrow for his former errors." In the second (revised and enlarged) edition (1638) the foregoing assumes the following form:—"They have many other *Cacodemons* horrible and ugly. The more deformed the more exact *Idaeas* of Devills, and the more venerable. A notable one is that (not farre from *Mattacala* conspicuous in its standing, an Idoll of great bulk and antiquity; of which, the Singales and *Jogues* *Cronography* (sic). That, many years agoe, one *Iohna* (sic.) their King nourisht a ridiculous and impious conceit of this *Diabola*, as a foolish and senselesse Idoll. But loe, the *Jogues* by the Devills craft so wrought that upon a solemne day, as *Iohna* entred, he beheld the *Pagod* to breath out fire and furie, his eyes colour'd with rage, and the semiter in his had wrathfully bent against him; the amazed King cries out for help accuses his infidelity, confesses it a perfect Devill, and having well satisfied for his errour, is recouncill'd, and ever after a zealous Idolater." Knighton (1 327 n.) in quoting a third and later version, and laboring under the common delusion that "*Matecalo*" was *Batticaloa* (*Pulyantivu*), thinks that Sir T. Herbert alludes to the *Scrivila* dagoba, which is situated to the north of the Verukal branch of the Mahaweliganga (see H. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* 331.).

elephant's head made of wood or stone: they say that they do this to obtain wisdom<sup>134</sup>. Their errors and abominations are many there. It were to be wished that some Christian potentates would take the trouble to root out this idolatry from them, which would be quite practicable with God's help if one would take up the matter earnestly to the honour of God. For they are a people that willingly let themselves be instructed, and take well their errors being punished, without opposing it in anger. It might be said, that the Portuguese have laboured long to this end and effected nothing: in truth the Portuguese seek more the riches of Celon than true conversion or the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ.

As the King of Candy is a very shrewd worldly-wise man, who himself willingly hears all particulars of our countries in matters both of politics and religion, whereof our general many a time spoke with the aforementioned King, seeing him disposed towards our nation, our general, in hope of expecting some good, left with the aforementioned King a young man named Erasmus Martsbergher, who had studied somewhat and was fluent in many languages, and also of good life. The King took this as a great honour that the aforementioned Martsbergher was willing to remain there with him, and made him his secretary... Our general was well satisfied with the aforesaid Martsbergher, but (with) the great hope and probability of getting the King to abandon his heathenish errors, the aforementioned Martsbergher remained there, who promised to constantly make the King realize what abominations their *pagodes* are, and to beg the King to abandon them, and to bring him to the knowledge of God.<sup>135</sup>

The island of Celon was formerly large, being reckoned in circumference four hundred miles, but now quite forty miles have been taken away by the sea on the north-west side, so that the size or circumference is now reckoned three hundred miles<sup>136</sup>; and it has many convenient harbours,

<sup>134</sup>. The reference is to Ganesa, the god of wisdom. Sir T. Herbert (v. s.) refers to this statement also.

<sup>135</sup>. See *supra*, page 379 and *infra*.

<sup>136</sup>. The curtailment of Ceylon by the sea is referred to by many writers (cf C. A. S. JI. xx. 32, 83).

of which the best is Poincte de Galle, a very convenient place for all large and small ships to trade from there to all the countries of the whole East Indies. This is a place as well situated as any to be found in the East Indies for interfering, <sup>137</sup> so that the Portuguese should in no wise be able to trade freely <sup>138</sup>.

Hereunder follow the names of the most important places, how far they are situated from each other <sup>139</sup>.

*From Poincte de Galle, westwards* <sup>140</sup>.

Alican	..	..	..	9 miles
Verberin	..	..	..	1 mile
Calutre	..	..	..	3 miles
Coulombo	..	..	..	6 miles
Negombo	..	..	..	5 miles
tGilau	..	..	..	5 miles
Putalon	..	..	..	10 miles
Mannar	..	..	..	18 miles

*From Poincte de Galle to Matecalo, eastwards* <sup>141</sup>.

Bellingan	..	..	..	4 miles
Mature	..	..	..	2 miles
Dondoure	..	..	..	1 mile
Tannadar	..	..	..	1 mile
Halpilana	..	..	..	2½ miles
Aialle	..	..	..	3 miles

<sup>137</sup>. In orig. *troubleeren*, from Fr. *troubler*.

<sup>138</sup>. Cf. *infra*.

<sup>139</sup>. Except in the case of the places between Matecalo and Candy, the distances given must have been obtained at second hand. Taking the mile here as equal to 4 miles English, the distances are fairly approximate, though in some cases rather inaccurate.

<sup>140</sup>. In this list the only names that need explanation are Alican—Alutgama, Verber—Beruwala, and tGilau—Chilaw.

<sup>141</sup>. In this list some of the names are very difficult to identify, and, beyond Dondra, the distances given are inaccurate, especially that between Metacalo and Trinquamale, the actual distance being about three times that given here. "Tannadar" seems to represent Gandara; "Halpilana" may mean Hambantota; "Aialle" looks like Yala, but, from the mileage, appears to be intended for (Maha) Lewaya; "Velebe," on the other hand, which ought to represent Walawe, by the mileage stands for Yala; "Tansaher" is a hopeless corruption, impossible of identification, though by the mileage, it should be Kumbukkanara; "Trincoly" is Tirukkovil (see *supra*, note 10).

Velebe	..	..	9 miles
Tansalier	..	..	7 miles
Trincoly (a Pagoda)	..	..	12 miles
Matecalo	..	..	5 miles
Trinquamale	..	..	10 miles

These abovenamed places are situated on the sea-coast.

*Here follow the places from Coulombo to Candy*<sup>142</sup>.

Tranquero Grando	..	..	3 miles
Malevano	..	..	2 miles
Grovabley	..	..	3 miles
Setavacca	..	..	3 miles
Grovenelle	..	..	2 miles
Manieratuete	..	..	4 miles
Dively	..	..	3 miles
Matappety	..	..	2 miles
Altonnor	..	..	1 mile
Ganiattany	..	..	1 mile
Ballene	..	..	1 mile
Candy	..	..	1 mile

*From Matucalo to Candy*<sup>143</sup>.

Aldea de More	..	..	1½ mile
Oncattoty	..	..	2 miles
Viado	..	..	2 miles

142. Most of the names in this list are easily recognisable. "Tranquero grando" should be Tranqueira grande (Port), the great stockade of Kaduwela (see C. A. S. J. l. xx. 286 n. 6); "Malevano" is Malwana, "Grovabley" is Gurubewila (Hanwella), "Grovenelle" is Ruwanwella, "Manieratuete" (a misreading for Manicravate) is Menikkadawara, "Dively" is Diwela, "Matappety" is Attapitiya (perhaps confused with Mottappoliya), "Altonnor" is Alutnuwara, and "Ganiattany" is Ganetenna.

143. On the places in this list from "Neguritti" onwards see above, note 36 *et. seq.* "Aldea de more" (Moorish village) may be the Moorish portion of Sammanturai. "Oncattoty" is puzzling: the only name approaching it is Sungaturai, but this place is too far out of the way. "Viado" may be Verayadi. All these names, with their original erroneous spelling, are found in Dutch and other maps of Ceylon down to the latter part of the 18th century (the location, however, in some cases varying). The last survival is found in the map of 1803 in Percival's *Ceylon*, where we find "Vendre," placed north of Kandy, on the road to Trincomalee!

Neguritti	..	..	..	5 miles
Nilvaele	..	..	..	2 miles
Vegamme	..	..	..	4 miles
Vitrane	..	..	..	6 miles
Vendro	..	..	..	5 miles
Candy	..	..	..	4 miles

So the 3rd September we departed from the island of Celon, from the *play* named Matecalo; and on the voyage to Achien nothing special befell us<sup>144</sup>.

When our general told them<sup>145</sup> that he had lately been in the island of Celon in the roadstead of Matecalo, and had had the courage to journey so far into the country to the kingdom of Candy, where he had treated and spoken with the King of Candy, Fimala Darma Suriada, otherwise in the Christian fashion named Don Ian Daustria, bringing from there about 60 cannasters of cinnamon and some pepper, also many precious stones and presents in token of friendship, on hearing this they considered it to be no small matter because they highly esteem the aforesaid King of Candy, who has the courage to wage war on the Portuguese, as before related.

*Anno 1603.*

The 1st January our general went on shore again, speaking with the aforesaid King<sup>146</sup> in regard to the King of Candy, of his circumstances, how he waged war against the Portuguese, relating all that our general had transacted with the aforesaid King, which seemed to be agreeable to him: because the King of Achien afterwards sent ambassadors

144. They arrived at Achin on 16th September (see *infra*, D 2) and found lying in the road their pinnace the *Lam*, which they had lost off the Comoro Island in the night of 4th April, and the captain of which, Cornelis Specx, despairing of their arrival, and for other reasons, had agreed with the English general James Lancaster, that the latter should take her over, crew and all.

145. The Portuguese captain and officers of a big carrack that the English and Dutch had lain in wait for and captured in the Strait of Malacca on 13th October. Having been emptied of everything of value, she was on account of bad weather, released on 20th October with all the Portuguese that had been in her; and before parting some conversation took place, in the course of which occurred the passage here quoted.

146. of Achien.

to the King of Candy; <sup>147</sup> so that it is not to be doubted that the king of Candy will obtain help and assistance from the King of Achien <sup>148</sup>.

The 17th ditto (January 1603) there arrived in the roadstead of Achien two ships from Zeelant, the one named *Vlissinghen* and the other *der Goes*, (which) came from the roadstead of Matecalo from Celon, where they had left the ship *Ziericzee*, waiting for their clerk Sebalt de Weert, who had gone to the king of Candy, because he had learnt in Matecalo that our general had been there and had been well received, which made him resolve to go to the aforesaid King of Candy <sup>149</sup>.

Meanwhile there arrived (5th February, 1603) the ship *Ziericzee* from Matecalo, wherein was Sebalt de Weert, who had been in Candy, where much honour and friendship had befallen him. Ere he came to Candy he received letters from Erasmus Martsbergher, the clerk of our general left there, and now secretary to the King of Candy, from which letters the aforesaid Sebalt de Weert was able to settle how he had to act in Candy, because it was a great help to him that these persons had been left there by our general <sup>150</sup>.

The 3rd April we departed from Achien..... The vice-admiral Zebalt de Weert in company of seven ships set out for Celon, saying adieu to the others by firing guns in their honour <sup>151</sup>.

The same evening (27th April) our general sailed <sup>152</sup> to the aforesaid island (Dovo Poelo), coming about a bare mile from Bantam, taking with him various letters that Sr. <sup>153</sup> Zebalt de Weert, vice-admiral, had given him to deliver into the hands of the admiral aforesaid (van Warwijk). On coming to the island to the admiral Warwijk he was greatly welcomed, and they were all glad to hear the

147. See *infra*, D 2.

148. The writer had no prevision of the terrible disaster that was so soon to occur in Ceylon.

149. See *infra*, C 1.

150. See *infra*, C 1.

151. See *infra* D 2.

152. From Bantam, where he had arrived that day.

153. *Sinjeur* (from Port. *Senhor*).

good arrival of their companions in Achien, and how they had left again for Celon.

The 13th August there arrived before Bantam the ship named *Dergoes* of Zeelandt, the skipper of which was Pieter Jansz. Soet and the upper merchant Jaques van Ray, who came from Celon<sup>154</sup>, but brought (God better it) very bad tidings of the vice-admiral Zebalt de Weert, namely<sup>155</sup> that he was murdered by the King of Candy near Matecalo with some 53 persons of his company, which is much to be wondered at, since our general had so often been entirely in the hands of the aforesaid King, and had received every friendship from the aforesaid King, as has been related above in this journal. On asking the aforesaid persons of the ship *Dergoes* what reason the King of Candy alleged for committing such a barbarous deed, they said that they considered the reason to be that they had let four Portuguese ships go with their crews which they had taken, and the *modeliar* Emanuel Dios, who was at Matecalo, asked of the vice-admiral some Portuguese and *mesticos* for the King of Candy, but it seems that they were refused him. They were indeed also warned by Reynier Janssz, a man of ours that had remained on shore there,<sup>156</sup> that they should let no Portuguese or their servants go, if they wished to expect any merchandise from the King of Candy. The King of Candy hearing these tidings of the capture of the Portuguese though he had meant to come no further than to Vintane, came to Matecalo, thinking to obtain the Portuguese there; but as soon as the vice-admiral with his broad council heard that the King was coming to Matecalo, they let the Portuguese with their servants and ships go free which the King having seen when he came to Matecalo caused him to form a very bad opinion, because he cannot understand that we mean well towards him, and are also enemies of the Portuguese as we declared to him, whilst we treat the Portuguese with courtesy and no enmity. The aforesaid King is a

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154. Whence she had sailed on 20th June (see *infra*, D 2. s.d.).

155. Compare this account with the narratives of Bree and Rijcks *infra*.

156. Apparently one of the two deserters mentioned above.



very jealous King, never trusting the Portuguese, and considers that hard measures should always be dealt out to them, as indeed mostly happens, because in the whole East Indies there is no King or nation that resists the Portuguese so inimically. That he is thus so jealous and knows all the tricks of the Portuguese, comes from the fact that he was brought up by the Jesuits in Goa and Colombo, as we have above related. Being at Matecalo, the vice-admiral received the King very magnificently with some 300 men all under arms. The King requested that the vice-admiral would give his men leave to return to the ships. It seems that the king did not take it well that anyone should come into his country with so many armed men, because (so we understood) the King appears to have said to the vice-admiral "We shall afterwards speak to one another alone;" so the armed men withdrew, the vice-admiral keeping with him some clerks, trumpeters, and other servants. Coming into discourse with the King through the interpreter Erasmus Martsbergher,<sup>157</sup> a man that was left by our general with the king, and now Secretary to the King, and well skilled in the Singales language, the King requested the vice-admiral to go to Pointo de Gallo with his ships, and the King would proceed thitherward over land with an army in order to capture Pointe de Gallo; which the vice-admiral was very willing to promise the king, but asked the king that he would come on board, which did not please the King, and he also begged to be excused; whereupon the vice-admiral said through the aforesaid interpreter, that if the King would not come on board he also would not go to Pointe de Gallo with the ships. Upon this reply the King said: "*Matta esto can*"<sup>158</sup>; whereupon followed the dreadful massacre. This is what we understood and heard from the persons on the aforesaid

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<sup>157</sup>. This important statement is not made by the other narrators

<sup>158</sup>. Correctly, "*Mata este cao*" ("Kill this dog"). Why the King should have given the order in Portuguese, instead of in Sinhalese, is not clear. The Maha Mudaliyar, Emanuel Dias, though a Portuguese by birth, was then to all intents a Sinhalese. Perhaps in his fury Vimaladharmas relapsed into the language he had been accustomed to speak as Dom Joao de Austria. On Baldaeus' fiction see *infra*, F 5.

ship *Dergoes*. Our general was very grieved at these tidings, the misfortune of so many good friends, and also that now the good progress and friendship that our general had made with the aforesaid King should be brought to naught and destroyed; because our general has letters from the aforesaid King both to their honorable high mightiness the States and to His Excellency, begging therein for assistance to war against the Portuguese. We have not learnt otherwise whether Don Ian King in Candy is a genuine enemy of the Portuguese. During the time that we were in Celon we captured some Portuguese ships, as related above, one of which with her lading our general presented to the king of Matecalo. The *Modeliar* of Candy, Emanuel Dios, got as many Portuguese and *mesticos* as he desired, and sent them to the King of Candy, with also the best weapons that we found in the ships of the Portuguese; moreover our general caused a new galley and *champaignie* with their cargo of *arecca* to be set on fire, and that in order to prove to the Singales that we are enemies of the Portuguese.

For mercy to faithless Portuguese to show  
Brings ourselves but pain and woe<sup>159</sup>.

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159. In origl.:—"Want deucht te doen aen Portugisen  
on trouw Brought ons selven in druck en rouw."

*To be continued.*

## PLACE OF TAMIL IN THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.

BY REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

It requires no specialist knowledge to run over a dictionary of the Tamil language and find that this remarkably symmetric speech is composed of words which fall into a number of groups of similar origin. A further fact easily to be observed is, that, when suffixes (which too represent original roots, in their turn) are set aside and enunciative vowels noted, the radicals of all the words are monosyllables. We present here but a few examples from a single group:—

- U l - u (உரு), to make a hole or a furrow
- P u l - u (புரு), a “borer,” worm
- K u l - i (குழி), a hole
- K u l - a l (குழல்), anything with a hole, a tube
- K u ḍ - a l (குடல்), a specification of the above, i.e. guts
- T u l - a i (துளை), to drill a hole
- T o ḍ - u (தொடு), to open a pit
- T ō ṇ ḍ - u (தோண்டி), to excavate
- N u l - a i (நுழை), to get into a small hole
- N ō ṇ ḍ - u (நோண்டி), to scrape out a small hole
- P u l - a i (புழை), a hole, error
- P ō l - v u (போலி), a hollow
- P u ṇ (புண்), an incision in the body
- P u l (புல்), vegetables with hollow stems e.g., grass, bamboo, &c.

It will be observed that a radical element Uḷ runs through all the words in the above list. This Uḷ itself, is a word still in current use, meaning “inside,” “within.” The vowel suffixes such as “U” in Uḷ u are mere enunciatives i.e., additions to facilitate pronunciation. The suffix “Al” in Kul-al is another word added to the radical. Its

original form is *Atu*, the third personal demonstrative pronoun. In its softened form "*Al*," in the word *Kul-al* it answers to the definite article in English. *Kul-al* "*the* (thing) with a hole." The addition of initial consonants such as "*K*" in the same example, is an important factor in the construction of language, as will be explained at a later stage of this paper.

The group we have been considering includes only a tithe of the words which fall under it. A few score of such groups, with their derivatives, exhaust all the words of the Tamil language both classical and vulgar. An exception is to be made only with regard to a few onomatopoeic terms and a handful of others of obscure origin. But there is a more astonishing fact. If we pursue our researches further and, guided by the original sense of the root-elements in each group, classify them into more comprehensive ones, we find that they resolve into four main groups, each with a particular idea as its central theme. These particular ideas are no other, we shall presently see, than what are conveyed by the deictics or demonstrative sounds *A*, *U*, *I* and *E*.

### Number and Sense of Deictics in Tamil

Before proceeding further, it may be well to establish the number and original sense of the Tamil deictics as against the traditional grammarians. *Tolkāppiyar*, the most authoritative grammarian of the classical language, admits only three deictics: *A*, *U* and *I*, although his commentator, with greater insight, includes also the fourth *E*, which, he says "carries a specific sense of interrogation."<sup>1</sup> The following comparative table will exhibit the unity of principle which pervades all the four vocalic prefixes:—

	Demonstrative			Interrogative
	<i>Remote</i>	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Proximate</i>	
Masc. Sing.	<i>A van</i>	<i>U van</i>	<i>I van</i>	<i>E van</i>
Fem. Sing.	<i>A va!</i>	<i>U va!</i>	<i>I va!</i>	<i>E va!</i>
Neut. Sing.	<i>Atu</i>	<i>Ut u</i>	<i>It u</i>	<i>Et u</i>
Epicene pl.	<i>A var</i>	<i>U var</i>	<i>I var</i>	<i>E var</i>
Neut. Pl.	<i>A vai</i>	<i>U vai</i>	<i>I vai</i>	<i>E vai</i>

1. *Tolkāppiyam Eluttu*, 31; Commentary by *Nachchinārkkiniyar*,

In these examples the base E occupies the same position and obeys the same laws as the three others. It differs from them only in the particular signification expressed. As remarked by CALDWELL<sup>2</sup>, all the four bases are recognised by one or another of the Dravidian dialects as demonstratives. Why then should the number be restricted to the three of the grammarians?

This will appear more clearly if we consider the original sense of these bases. It is true that "A" in the demonstrative pronoun *Avan* points to a person remote from the speaker. The grammarians have noticed this fact alone. But as a constitutive element in scores of words e.g. *Ay-al*, neighbourhood, *aḍ-u*, to place near, *Anḍ-ai*, proximity, the base "A" has reference to what is in close proximity. If we examine the evolution of this word-group, from words that conveyed gross material ideas to words giving expression to the loftiest thoughts—it will be apparent that the base "A" although originally expressive of proximity did not always retain that idea, but gradually came to signify remoteness as well. Thus we see that if *Ay-al* means neighbourhood, *Ah-al* conveys the idea of getting away from that neighbourhood. Both these derivatives are, without doubt, from the deictic "A." It is then small wonder that the pronoun *Av-an*, though built upon a base originally denoting proximity, came to signify a person away from the speaker.

The original import of the base "A" was proximity. On the other hand, "U" had, in the early word-building stage, the sense of remoteness or being hidden from view. As examples we may cite *Uṅg-u*, yonder, *Ump-ar*, beyond, *Uḷ*, removed from view i.e. inside an object or within, &c. Dictionaries note the sense of "beyond" in the phrase *Up-pakkam*, occurring in *Kural* 620, as an exceptional use, whereas that is precisely the regular use in early Tamil. Compare the far demonstratives in Hindi: *U*, *O*, *Vaha*; Panjabi: *Uha* and Sindhi: *U*, *Hva* and *Ho*.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Dravidian Comparative Grammar, 3rd Edit. p. 420-1.

3. Beames Comparative Grammar of the Modern Arya Languages

The deictic "I" indeed has, in the building up of words, the meaning of nearness, as in the demonstrative pronouns *Ivan* &c.; but it exhibits herein the more particularised sense of "being beneath an object" e.g., *Ilai*, "hanging" under a stem, a leaf; *Ilī* to descend, *Idu*, to put down. The base "E," on the other hand, carries the original sense of "being over-head" or above, as in the words: *Ey* to shoot up, *Eḍ-u* to raise an object or take, *El-u* to arise. It has certainly once been a demonstrative as it still is in *Ku*, a Tamilian dialect.<sup>4</sup> That it is now an interrogative in its pronominal form is a proof not against its demonstrative nature but rather in favour of it. For, interrogation is but a particular way of pointing out an object. This is evident in the Tamil interrogative pronouns. *Evan*, "who" actually points to one picked out or lifted, as it were, from a crowd of persons physically or mentally present. "Who" is equivalent to: What particular (i.e., marked out) person of the lot? It may be safely concluded, therefore, that the base "E" was originally a deictic signifying What is above or over-head. From the idea of "lifting" connected with it, this deictic gradually acquired a *selective* sense and hence its interrogative value. This selective sense is also seen in the use of "E" as a suffix of emphasis, e.g., in *Avan-é*, he himself, i.e., he out of all others.

Summing up, then, it can be laid down that deictics are four in number, viz. A, U, I and E, and that their imports are Near by, Away or Hidden from view, Beneath and Above, respectively. It is interesting to note the natural connection which is apparent between the various physiological efforts involved in producing these articulate sounds and the spatial relation they indicate. Thus: "A" is pronounced by keeping the lips wide open, with the tongue in its natural flat position. This sound, it will be seen, is most appropriate for pointing out objects close by and at a receding distance from the speaker. In pronouncing "U" the lips are rounded and the tongue drawn down as if pushing an object away

from oneself. This would tally excellently with the spatial relation of remoteness. The back of the tongue almost pressed against the palate, and the lips narrowed, produces the sound "I" which, on account of its compressed nature, would readily suggest what is beneath. Finally, when the lips are fairly open and the back of the tongue, as well as the larynx raised, we get the sound "E" which seems naturally to indicate the idea of pointing upwards.<sup>5</sup> The deictic "E," however, is so closely connected with "I," and doubtless a modification of it, that the two sounds are often interchanged as we shall see in the sequel.

### Origin of Thought and Language

We laid it down and the claim will be substantiated as we proceed—that the four deictics are the bases of the Tamil vocabulary. They enter into the construction of all the members of the several groups into which it resolves. This fact furnishes us with a clue for tracing the origin of the Tamil language—probably of all language—as well as the origin of thought itself. For, thought represents our mental activities in the order of ideas; and our ideas have their source in the stimuli received from sensible objects from without and from sensuous impressions within. A further analysis would show that the first step in thought is the distinction we perceive between the Ego and the non-Ego ("I" and "other-than-I"),—in other words, between the subject which experiences a stimulus and the object from which the stimulus proceeds. And how do objects outside us produce their impression on the senses? What is that medium through which the mind apprehends material objects? It is Extension, or that quality which includes length and breadth, height and depth, compactness and looseness. All sense-stimuli are reducible to this. Such apparently non-extended things as colour and sound are themselves but forms of extension in that they represent various degrees of intensity or wave lengths of light and

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5. See diagrams in Max Muller's *Science of Language*, Longman's Green & Co 1891 Vol. I, pp. 126-9.

resonance. In the last analysis, Extension resolves itself into certain relations in space : being Near or Far, Beneath or Above.

We are not here concerned with the academic question : whether or not ideas could have been formed in the first place without language. Our concern at present is only with the probable origin of ideas. We are building on the sound philosophical rock-bottom that all our ideas come to us through the senses : *Nihil in intellectu quod prius non erat in sensu*. And our senses can receive impressions from without only in terms of Extension or spatial relation. The first element in thought,—the distinction between the Ego and the non-Ego—is itself one of spatial relation. To feel that a thing is within me or outside of me is to feel in terms of my relation to space. This is the first step in thought. Then the non-Ego presents itself as something near me or away from me, as something which falls beneath my level or rises above it. This second step also indicates my relation to space. Spatial relation, then, is at the root of ideas.

Whether the concomitance of language was necessary for the formation of ideas or not, it is certain that man would have contrived to use, when he wanted to express his ideas, such signs as were the easiest to handle and the most significant. Nor was it absolutely necessary that these signs should have been articulate speech. Max Muller, <sup>6</sup> has pointed out that, if men had so chosen, they could have perfected a medium of communicating their ideas through gestures, the movements of the muscles of the mouth and the eye, together with interjections of an inarticulate nature. And the most obvious gestures of a pantomime, it may be noted, would be those that signify his relations in space to objects around him. But when articulate speech was fixed upon as the chief means of communication between mind and mind, it was natural that those sounds which most aptly represent the fourfold spatial relation with which ideas

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6. Science of Language II, 508.



had to deal in the first place, were readily employed in the process. This is what a scientific examination of original Tamil word-forms shows abundantly.

### Primary Words

Let us now turn to consider the primary or earliest words of the Tamil language. The intellectual activities of man could not rest satisfied with forming only vague ideas of objects in terms of the fourfold spatial relation. This was but the most elementary stage. More distinct ideas, which were no other than narrower and narrower specifications of the fourfold spatial relation, were continually cropping up, so that it became indispensable to harness other sounds in order to designate the new specifications. Vowels, we know, are sounds which freely vibrate through the vocal cords. Of these the simplest are the deictics A, U and I, with E which is a modification of the last. Now, having utilised the deictics for expressing the elementary ideas of spatial relation, it was necessary to employ another class of sounds for designating more distinct and emphasised forms of that relation. These new sounds were the consonants or sounds which are the result of friction or interruption of the breath in its passage through the mouth. It is noteworthy that Sanskrit grammarians have given consonants the name of *vyanjana* i.e., "rendering distinct." The indistinct ideas expressed by the four vowel-sounds were indeed made *distinct* by associating the consonants with them as we shall presently see.

Of the consonants or restricted sounds of articulate speech, it was the easiest that were at first brought into service, in accordance with the human proclivity to follow the line of least resistance. Such certainly were what are known as semi-vowels, i.e., Y and V. The former is a "compressed" "A" and the latter a modification of "U." The first semi-vowel seems to have soon multiplied its form by gliding on to L and R, and the second to M. The L and R were further developed into  $\text{Ḷ}$ ,  $\text{L̤}$ ,  $\text{Ḍ}$ , T,  $\text{Ṛ}$ , N and  $\text{Ṇ}$ , always with a view to meeting the increased demand for diversified sounds, in order to provide for more and more distinct designation of ideas. Thus arose monosyllabic words with an

initial vowel and a final consonant as formative. But where the pronunciation of the final consonant was difficult, an enunciative “A,” often softened into Ai and I or, again, a “U” was tacked on to it.

We present below a few of the primary words built upon the first deictic with the help of the formatives we have just spoken of and in the order already noted. The senses of the words given by their side are their first ones and can be found in any good Tamil dictionary. It is to be remarked, however, that not even the latest Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University—otherwise a good production—has succeeded in presenting the senses of words in their historical or logical order, owing to the want of scientific research in Tamil etymology.

A y (அய்), to be near; Ay-al (அயல்), neighbourhood but A h-al (அகல்), is to get away, while Ah-hu (அஃஹு), is to get near, to contract. Remark the physiological fitness of the sounds to signify the distinction between expansion and contraction in the examples. In Aha(l) the mouth is opened wide and the breath is sent away (expansion); in Ahh(u) the jaws are brought together and the breath is, as it were, drawn in (contraction).

A v - (v) u (அவ்-அ) to get near, to desire

A l-a i (அலை) to go to and fro for an object

A r-u (vu) (அரு-அ) to approach, to flow down

A m-ai (அமை) to be close, to be attached.

A ! (அள்) closeness, sharpness

A d-u (அடு) to join together, to get near

A tt-u (அத்து) to unite, to reach

A r-ai (அறை) to fasten, to beat upon

A n-u (ngu) (அனு-ங்கு) to be pressed, touched

A n n-i (அண்ணி) to get near

These primary words, all constructed with the aid of the deictic of proximity and the several formative consonants aforesaid, are the roots of scores upon scores of secondary words. Of these some examples will be given in due course. Before proceeding further, however, it may be well to briefly note down some of the chief primary words

built upon the three other deictics too, as this will show that the deictic origin of the Tamil vocabulary is not an idle theory but a conclusion based upon the facts of the case.

Examples of words from the deictic "U" containing the idea of being Away or Hidden from view :—

U y (உய), to escape, to drive away

U v-a (உவ), to expand, to soar high

U l-a i (உலை), to go to and fro

U r-a (உரு), to be in motion

U m-i l (உமிழ), to send forth, discharge

U l (உள்), within, hidden

U l-u (உழு), to dig up, (bring out from within)

U r u (உரு), to fit as into a hole, to be permanent

U n- (n) u (உன்-னு), to propel, to enter into oneself

U n (உண்), to draw in, eat

Examples for the deictic "I" bearing the sense of What is beneath :—

I y-a (ngu) (இயங்கு), to go down as a stream, Cf. Irangu

I l-a i (இலை), what hangs down, a leaf

I r-i (இரி), to drop down

I m-a i (இமை), to diminish

I l-a (hu) (இளகு), to abate, lessen

I l i (இழி), to drop down, to be inferior

I d-u (இடு), to lay down

I t-a l (இதழ்), "what falls down," leaf

I r-a (ngu) (இறங்கு), to descend

I n-a i (இளை), to be brought low, to grieve

I n-u (ngu) (இணங்கு), to pluck as fruit from a tree

From words based on the deictic "E" with the sense of Above, we subjoin the following instances :—

E y (எய), to shoot up

I v-a r (இவர), to ascend (Here E has been weakened into I)

E l (எல்), the "riser," the sun

E r i (எரி), to send up flames

I m-a i (இமை), what is above, heaven (E weakened into I)

- E l-u (எழு), to rise  
 E d-u (எடு), to raise up, take  
 E t-i r (எதிரி), to rise against, oppose  
 E r-i (எறி), to throw up  
 E n (என), to raise the voice, say  
 E n̄ (என̄), to take up one by one, count

### Secondary Words

The words which had been so far formed were comparatively few and they hardly sufficed for all the shades of thought the human mind was continually shaping. Other sounds had to be devised for giving a different turn to the words already built up, so that new expressions might be found for the newly-evolved ideas. More vowel sounds—modifications of the three principal ones A, U and I—were first laid under contribution. The process in naming objects and actions, it will have been observed, was one of inducing more and more emphasis on the first ideas which were the vaguest notions of spatial relation. The formative consonants described above, brought in the required emphasis in various ways, thereby differentiating the first ideas and giving distinct names to the subsequent ones. So too the long vowels  $\bar{A}$ ,  $\bar{U}$ ,  $\bar{I}$  and  $\bar{E}$  (which call for greater effort in their pronunciation than the short ones) with “O” another form of intensified “U” came handy for modifying primary words in a way to express emphasised, that is, more advanced ideas.

This was the first expedient for building up secondary words. Thus from the word Ay which, we saw, means “to be near” came, by lengthening the initial “A,” the secondary word  $\bar{A}y$  to contract—an idea representing nearness in an intensified way. From Uru “to fit into a hole” we have  $\bar{U}(n)ru$  “to firmly fix,” to plant. If Iri meant “to drop”  $\bar{I}r$  conveys the emphasised idea of pulling down. The word Eri meant “to throw up.” When the initial vowel of the word is lengthened, we get the intensified sense of passing over, in the new word  $\bar{E}ru$ . The primary word Uḷ meant “within.” A secondary formation with the

initial O gives the word Oḷi "to conceal." Uy, we saw, has the sense of escaping. Ōy means "to come to an end, to cease."

A further contrivance for naming new specifications of ideas, was to introduce initial consonants in order to modify the primary words. Of these K, C, T and P, styled "hard" consonants by native grammarians, were most suited, by the greater effort involved in their articulation, to stress an idea and give it an additional force, while V, M and N (often changed into Gn), by their comparative facility of enunciation, served to indicate still other ideas of a less emphasised aspect. Here are some examples: The primary word Aḍu meant "to get near." From this the forms Kaḍu-(hu), Taḍu, Paḍu, &c. were derived with various specified senses of "getting near." Kaḍu-hu is to go fast; Taḍu, to press against; Paḍu, to induce quickly repeated movements, to put down with violence. On the other hand, Naḍu and Maḍu with initial "soft" consonants (according to Tamil grammars) yield the sense of placing side by side or planting, and mixing up or turning back, respectively. Again, the word Ulai meant "to go to and fro." But Kulai would mean to disperse and Tulai to disappear. The latter as a noun means distance. Once more Iḍu was "to lay down." Viḍu would be to abandon. Eri was "to send up flames." Teṟu would mean to burn down, destroy. Erippu, a noun from Eri, means light, while Nerup-pu indicates fire. Eḷu is "to rise" and Cellu means to go. And so forth.

A still further multiplication of secondary words was secured by reduplication of the formative consonant in a casual, and by nunnation in an intransitive sense. Thus Aḍu "to get near" becomes Aḍḍu and means to join, to paste, while Anḍu means to approach. Aḍa, another form of Aḍu, meaning "to bring closely together," makes Aḍakku and Aḍangu, the former to repress, curb, the latter to be compressed, submit. Here the reduplication is not in the original formative but in an additional one introduced for further emphasis. These secondary

forms yield other words by the operation of the law of initial intensive consonants. Thus: from *Aḍḍu*, we have *Kaḍḍu* to fasten together, *Taḍḍu*, to flatten by striking, *Paḍḍai* thin layer or bark, *Maḍḍai* and *Maḍḍal*, flattened stem of leaves. (The suffix *Ai* in *Maḍḍai* is a softened form of "A" which itself represents an original *Al*, the equivalent of the pronoun *Atu*). Again from *Aḍakku*, we have *Taḍakku*, to obstruct, *Maḍakku* to turn back, &c.

Finally, the fresh demand for an ever-increasing number of word-forms was met by the innumerable interchanges, within words, of sounds of a common physiological origin. Thus the word *Cey* "to do" from *Ey*, to raise (the hand) becomes *Kai* hand. Here both the initial consonant and vowel have undergone change, *Kuḷ-al*, meaning a tube, assumes the meanings of guts and voice in the words *Kuḍal* and *Kural*, respectively by the change of "ḷ" into "ḍ" and "R". The interchanges of vowels are also numerous. From the word-group given on the first page of this paper the change of "U" into "O" will at once occur to the mind. E.g., *Puḷ-ai* became *Pōḷ-vu*. (Here the suffix (v)u is a contraction of an original *U!*—a primary word meaning "what is"). So also *Nuḷ-ai* assumed the form of *Nōṇḍu*. We saw, again, that "I" took the place of "E" in the word *Ivar*, to ascend. This law will be fully exemplified in the following sections.

### From the Physical to the Metaphysical

It is now plain that the framers of language have been beginning with the expression of material conceptions and arriving, by slow degrees, at that of metaphysical and spiritual ones. The external world struck them first in terms of extension or spatial relations and these relations received the first articulate names. Then came the appellations of other sensuous objects which were designated by such striking qualities as were analogous to the ideas already named. Language, indeed is no other than a mental analysis of impressions into common factors, in the first

place, and the reconstruction of composite ideas from those factors. This will be illustrated by the evolution of a single word from its birth upward.

It was seen that the primary word *Ay* denoted the plain idea of nearness. From this came *Āy* signifying contraction. But *Cāy* means distress, falling to a side and death. *Ayy(am)*, on the other hand, stands for going to and fro, balancing in the mind, i.e., doubt. Here remark that the final "Am" in *Ayyam* (written *Iyam*) is a softened form of *Atu* functioning for the definite article. *Ay-atu*—"that (which makes one) incline" this way and that. Again *Aya-l* showed the original sense of neighbourhood, while *Aya-r* denotes putting aside, forgetting. *Aya-kku* is to move, to drive, *Kaya-kku*, is to turn aside, to squeeze; *Ac-ai*, to move, *Ācai* "moving forward," desire; *Nacai*, attachment, love. Going back to *Ayakku*, we have, from its intransitive form, *Ay-an-gu*, the strengthened form *Tayan-gu*, to move violently, to be mentally disturbed.

From its other form *Ah-a*, the root *Ay* yields *Aha-l* to deepen a pit; *Aha-ddu* to widen; *Aha-ttu* to remove &c. Again from *Aha-l*, we have *Ālam* (= *Ahal-atu* *Ālvu* and *Tālvu*, depth; *Ahal-ān*, the field rat which digs its hole into the soil; *Ālal*, the white ant working into the earth; *Ahalī*, a ditch, &c. In the last example the suffix "I" represents the primary word *Il* meaning "place." *Ahal-il*—"deepened place." So also from *Ahal* "to get away" we have *Ālu* to dance, to rejoice; *Āl* "the spreading tree," banyan; *Ālam* "the broad expanse" sea, sky; *Cāl* the broad-mouthed earthen jar; also, as an adjective, great; *Tālam* the earth; *Ānṛōr* (= *Ahanṛa*=*avar*) the learned, &c.

Further, the word *Ahal* became contracted into *Al* on one side, and *Ār* in the other. The first gives the derivative *Al-ar* to expand, flower. *Alari*, a peculiar flower, the oleander, remarkable for its profuseness. In this sense also *Malar*, flower. The second form *Ār* meaning "to spread" developed the sense of filling up, as is seen in its

derivatives *Ārpu* or *Ārvu* fulness; *Aruttu* to fill; *Aruntu* to satiate, eat, *Arutti*, avidity; and, finally, *Ārval*, *Ārvam* desire, love &c.

Just a few only of the various forms which the word *Ay* assumes in its gradual evolution have been noticed here. From its elementary signification of "nearness" it acquired the sense of "falling to a side" from which the mental state of "doubt" received its name. Again, from meaning "neighbourhood," it came to indicate "putting aside" and the phenomenon of "forgetting." From motion towards a thing in proximity, it connoted "perplexity of mind" as well as "desire." So also from "getting away" the ideas of "broadening," "deepening," and consummate "learning," on the one hand, and "dancing" and "rejoicing" on the other were reached. Finally the ideas of broadening and deepening led to those of "expanding" as in the flower, after which the same was named, and of "filling" a void and even the cravings of affection resulting in "satiety" and "love."

In passing from material to spiritual conceptions, analogy and metaphor have played an important part. Who does not see the analogy between "balancing" and "doubt," between "putting aside" and "forgetting," "broadening" and "learning"? Is not every language brimful of metaphors like the one where a word meaning "to dance" is made to yield the sense of "rejoicing"? Where the idea of "satiety" leads to that of the complaisance of "love." We have instanced but one example from one of the four basic themes of all nomenclature. Is it not wonderful that from the vague and pale conceptions of proximity &c. such a vast array of names expressing the loftiest flights of thought and feeling, which all cultivated languages possess, have been derived? To quote MAX MULLER: "All these etymologies may seem very unsatisfactory, vague, uninteresting; yet if we reflect for a moment, we shall see that in no other way but this could the mind, or the gathering power of man, have comprehended the endless variety of nature under a limited number of categories or names. What Bunsen called the 'first poesy of mankind' the creation of words,



is no doubt very different from the sensational poetry of later days ; yet its very poverty and simplicity render it all the more valuable in the eyes of historians and philosophers. For of this poetry, simple as it is, or of this first philosophy in all its childishness, man only is capable. He is capable of it because he can gather the single under the general ; he is capable of it because he has the faculty of speech ; he is capable of it—we need not fear the tautology—because he is man.”<sup>7</sup>

### Theories of the Origin of Language

A study of the early word-bases or roots of Tamil has put us in possession of a scientific theory of the origin of this language. From this it may be reasonably presumed that other languages too had a similar origin, seeing that human nature is the same all the world over. Before we proceed to investigate this fact with regard, for the present, to the Indo-European group of languages, it will be interesting to state, and offer criticisms on, the theories of the origin of language which others have put forth.

The views of various philologists on this head may be classified into the Bow-wow, Pooh-pooh and Ding-dong theories, graphically so called. The first holds that the earliest names of objects and actions were imitations of natural sounds. Thus, animals were denominated from their characteristic utterances ; such as a dog by Bow-wow, sheep by Baa, cow by Moo, etc. So again, the noises of inanimate nature such as the *whistling* of the wind, the *rustling* of the forest, the *gurgling* of water and the heavy falling of objects were utilised as signs of the objects from which they proceeded ; and that language was elaborated by following up these ideas. This is also known as the onomatopoeic theory. The Pooh-pooh or interjectional theory contends that man's involuntary interjections, when in an excited state of feeling—the Ah's, the Pooh's and Pshaw's—are the ultimate beginnings of speech. The last, the Ding-dong or Pathog-

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7. The Science of Language II, 77-8.

onomic theory, claims that, in accordance with the law in nature that each substance has its peculiar ring, man, once upon a time, possessed an instinctive faculty for giving articulate expression to the rational conceptions of his mind. It was an irresistible instinct, which he lost when he ceased to want it. Professor NOIRÉ's Synergastic theory; which MAX MULLER hailed as the most complete solution of the riddle is but a modification of the Ding-dong theory. According to NOIRÉ, man's first concepts arose by necessity from the consciousness of his own repeated and continuous acts which became sonant through the *clamor concomitans*, that is, the sounds which involuntarily accompany the simplest acts of man. <sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt that, in every language, we have a very limited class of words which are onomatopoeic in origin, that is, imitated from the cries of animals and natural sounds. But it has been well said that "the onomatopoeic theory goes very smoothly as long as it deals with cackling hens and quacking ducks, but round that poultry yard there is a high wall, and we soon find that it is behind that wall that language really begins." Interjectional words too have their own place. But the existence of an inconsiderable number of these two classes of words is far from explaining the origin of the thousands of other words which every language of civilization possesses. As for the third theory, it would be doing scant justice to the rational and inventive nature of man to make him, as WHITNEY observes "a sort of bell, so that when an idea struck him, he naturally rang—rang like other bells, naturally by the tongue."

Thought does not tend to burst into expression by an internal impulse. Nor is language a promiscuous collection of words which have no connection with one another. When analysed, all words fall under certain groups or types which are found, in their turn, to express general ideas whether of objects or actions. Again every name, whether it is of an object or an action, is reducible to a predicate, and not

to a haphazard expression having no connection with the nature or quality of the thing named. The study we have made in the origins of Tamil, points to the true basis of all nomenclature,—the designating of the most elementary ideas, in the first place, by sounds physiologically congenial to their expression, and later, the utilising of those sounds, their combinations and modifications for denoting more and more refined ideas. When, by this process, qualities and actions were once named, it was an easy step to name every object, be it physical or mental, by means of those qualities or actions which in them seemed to stand out prominently. A twist was given to, or another word incorporated with, the root indicating the stand-out quality or action in the object to be named, and the new appellation had come into existence. This is what our researches in the Tamil language amply bear out in every detail.

### **Tamil and the Indo-European Languages**

The possibility of a common origin for all languages has been remarked upon by many philologists of note. MAX MULLER, whom we have so often quoted, has some pertinent remarks on the subject. "If properly analysed," he says, "almost every word will tell us of many vicissitudes through which it passed on its way from Central Asia to India or to Persia, to Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, to Russia, Gaul, Germany, the British Isles, America, New Zealand; nay back again, in its world-encompassing migrations, to India and the Himalayan regions from which it started. Many a word has thus gone the round of the world, and it may go the same round again and again. For although words may change in sound and meaning, to such an extent that not one single letter remains the same, and that their meaning sometimes becomes the very opposite of what it originally was, yet it is important to observe, that since the beginning of the world no new addition has ever been made to the substantial element of speech, any more than to the substantial elements of nature. There is a constant change in language, a coming and going of words; but no man can ever invent an entirely new word. We

speak, to all intents and purposes, substantially the same language as the earliest ancestors of our race ; and guided by the hand of scientific etymology, we may pass on from century to century through the darkest periods of the world's history, till the stream of language on which we ourselves are moving carries us back to those distant regions where we seem to feel the presence of our earliest forefathers, and to hear the voices of the earth-born sons of Man." <sup>9</sup>

"The substantial elements" of which the learned philologist spoke are the roots or phonetic types of language, definite in form and meaning though liable to various modifications. They have been aptly called "specific centres of language" and are no mere abstractions but words in an early stage of speech. We meet them in Tamil as concrete facts unlike the many Dhatus fancifully elaborated by Sanskrit lexicographers and the artificial roots synthetically arrived at by the philologists of Europe and America. What light have the "phonetic types" of the Tamil language to throw on the Indo-European family of languages? It is our deliberate opinion that Tamil roots take us back to the origin of language. Not that the other languages were derived from Tamil, but that the forms of the primary words we find in the latter belong to the original speech of the Indo-European races.

Tamil primary words serve as a key to unlock the mysterious life-history of Indo-European roots. To study Tamil etymology is to study Sanskrit and Latin, Greek and Gothic, German and English in their fountain-heads. The advantage to be reaped from this study in favour of Sinhalese etymology is immeasurable. A careful scrutiny will reveal the fact that the native words of the latter tongue are no other than derivatives from Tamil word-bases.

All this might sound as an extravagant claim. The fact, for instance, that words designating the most familiar objects are so different in Tamil and in the other languages might be put forward as an objection to the views we have

presented above. But a little reflection on the way in which different peoples utilised the primitive roots in naming objects would set this objection aside. We observed that the naming of objects was accomplished through their outstanding qualities or actions. Now these qualities or actions appealed to different peoples in different ways. The same people too had often many view-points in naming an object. Thus if the Tamils named "father" as Ay-yan or Ap-pan from the roots Ay and Ap "to be near" the Aryan named him Pi-tru or Pa-ter from the root Fā originally meaning to look (after). This is a secondary Tamil word-base from the primary Ār, "to stretch." The former viewed "father" as one nearest and dearest, while the latter as the guardian and nourisher of the family. Again, if the Tamils styled "horse" Kuti-rai, from the secondary base Kuti, original root Ut-i "to jut out,"—on account of its jumping while running, the Aryans called it Aṣva owing to the fact of its running fast, from the Tamil word-base Ac-ai "to move." Once more, taking the first personal pronoun as an example for a different category of words, we find that the Tamilian referred to himself as one standing "here-below" i.e., I-an=Yān while the Aryan pointed to an agent "within himself" i.e., Ah-am. The former is from the Tamil base "I" meaning "beneath" and the latter from the primary word Ah-hu to "contract" or get into a thing.

In investigating the part played, in the Indo-European speeches, by the roots we have in Tamil, we should not be guided by the inaccurate criterion of finding, in every case, the same radicals in the latter and the former languages for names of the same objects. There are, however, hundreds of words common to Tamil and the other languages, as all unbiased students will see for themselves by following the lines indicated in the foregoing pages. We subjoin two illustrations here, one from the interrogative and relative base of the Indo-European languages, and the other from a prolific root for terms signifying light, colour, &c.

### The Interrogative-Relative Pronominal Base

The deictic "E," it was seen, points to that which is above or overhead, as opposed to "I" the deictic with the sense of what is beneath. It was also seen that the former gradually acquired a "selective" sense from the idea of "lifting" connected with it, and became invested with an interrogative value. In passing from demonstrative to interrogative it was natural that "E" should assume its intensive form  $\tilde{E}$ . We find in the oldest grammar of the Tamil language extant, the *Tolkāppiyam*, that this  $\tilde{E}$  is the interrogative element in the beginning as well as the end of words.<sup>10</sup>  $\tilde{E}van$  and  $Kottan\tilde{e}$  are examples in the later grammar of *Pavanānti*.<sup>11</sup>  $\tilde{E}van$ ,  $\tilde{E}val$ ,  $\tilde{E}tu$  ("who" masc. fem. and n., respectively) are still the Malayalam interrogatives. But already in *Tolkāppiyar's* time,  $\tilde{E}van$ ,  $\tilde{E}val$  and  $\tilde{E}tu$  had become  $Y\tilde{a}van$ ,  $Y\tilde{a}val$ , and  $Y\tilde{a}tu$ ,<sup>12</sup> probably through the intermediate forms  $Y\tilde{e}van$ , etc. For we know it is a physiological tendency to prefix a Y to the E in such words as  $\tilde{E}tu$ ,  $\tilde{E}su$ , which some pronounce Y tu,  $Y\tilde{e}su$ . DR. GRIERSON rightly observes<sup>13</sup> that the usual pronunciation of the short and long variety of E and O, when initial, is Ye and Yé, Vo and Vō, respectively. It is interesting to note that DR. KITTEL, the author of "A Grammar of the Canarese Language" has the same remark with regard to modern Canarese interrogatives. He says: "The interrogative pronouns *āvan*, (*yāvanu*, *dāvanu*) *āval*, (*yāvalu*, *dāvalu*), *āvudu*, (*yāvudu*, *dāvudu*), *ār*, (*yāru*, *dāru*), *āvuvu*, (*yāvuvu*, *dāvuvu*) rest on the interrogative  $\tilde{e}$ , that becomes *yā* in the oblique cases of the medieval and modern dialects which is another form of  $\tilde{a}$ ."<sup>14</sup> We may add that, from the fact that Tamil was always loth to begin words with Ya<sup>15</sup> and from the other fact that the interrogative E in its shortened form<sup>16</sup> is largely found in such words as *Evan*

10. Tol. Col. 164.

11. *Sutram* 67.

12. Tol. *Elutturupiyal* 4, 5, 6, 28.

13. The Linguistic Survey of India IV, 287.

14. A Grammar of the Canarese Language, p. 231.

15. Tol. *Elut.* 65.

16. *Ibid.* 128, 334.

Eval, Etu, ("who" etc.) Epporul, Evvayin, ("what object," "what place," etc.) are sufficient proof to establish against Bishop CALDWELL and others that Yā is but a substitute for the original Ē. The other two Tamilian interrogatives Ā and Ō<sup>17</sup> are likewise later forms of Ē.

We have seen how Yā took the place of "Ē" in Tamil. In other Tamilian dialects the initial "Y" was further changed into "J" and then into "D." Thus we have the Tulu Dā, "which"; Dāyē, "why"; Dārē, Jānē "what"; Yēr, "who". It is noteworthy that this Yēr appears as Der in Brahui. A parallel to this is found in Sanskrit and Aryan vernaculars. The Sanskrit Yāvat becomes Jāva in Prakrit. So also the Sanskrit "J" is changed into "D" in Ardha Magadhi and Sinhalese, as in Jāla which becomes Dala in Sinhalese. In Sanskrit itself compare Dampati with jāyā-pati.

We now pass on to another phase in the evolution of the deictic E. It has been seen that the interrogative Yā was derived from it. This Yā in turn assumed a relative sense in Sanskrit. It will be found, in fact, when examined, that, relatives are none other than interrogatives with a different grammatical function. This is why, in most languages, the same word stands, without any change, for both the interrogative and relative pronouns. Telugu grammarians rightly give them the name of Relative-Interrogative, *yat-kim-arthakamu*. An oft-repeated Vedic text and its literal translation into Tamil and English (as given by Swaminatha Iyar in his paper "Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronouns") will make this clear:—

Ya evam viduh amritās te bhavanti.

Yār itai arivāro avar cākātōr āvar.

Who this know, immortal they become.

In Sanskrit the relative-interrogative base Ya, the Tamil Yā, becomes Yas for the masculine, Yā for the feminine and Yad for the neuter. In compounds, however, Yad, corresponding to the Tamil Yātu and Etu, is generally used.

Ya, again is the parent of many derivatives, such as Yatas, Yati, Yatra, Yathā, Yadā, Yadi, Yarhi, Yāvant, Yatara, Yādris, etc.

It is possible that in the mouth of the Aryan people, whose language shows that they were fond of vigorous enunciation, Ya became strengthened with an initial guttural or palatal. Such a strengthening was perhaps necessitated by way of distinguishing the interrogative form from the relative one. In the Avesta there are, in addition to the K forms of the interrogative corresponding to the Sanskrit Kas, Kā, Kim, "who," etc., other forms beginning with the palatal Ch. viz: Chi, "who;" Ched, "which;" Chati, "how much." <sup>17</sup> "Gujarati has a unique interrogative (masc.) *śo*; (fem.) *śi* and neuter *śum*, the only approach to which is the Sindhi *chha* used as a neuter." <sup>18</sup>

If a connection can thus be established between the Tamil Ya and the Sanskrit Ka, through Sa, Ja, and Chha the interesting fact emerges therefrom that the Latin Quis, the Greek Hos ("Cum spiritus asper pro Y." Bopp <sup>19</sup>) the old English Hwa and the English Who are inter-related.

### Some Offshoots of the Root "El"

Now for the second example. It was pointed out that one of the primary words built upon the deictic "E" is El "the riser," the sun. This word is akin to El-u "to rise," Er-i "to send up flames." The word "El" may have shared both the senses as will appear presently, although, as a name for the sun, the former sense seems to have outweighed the latter. Perhaps a proof of this is that there is a less ancient name for the orb of the day i.e., Eḷu-vān "he that riseth." Certainly what struck archaic man in the great luminary of the heavens seems to have been the fact that he appeared daily to rise from the Eastern horizon.

17. See Swaminatha Iyer: The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns, p. 23.

18. Beames Comp. Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages, II, 324.

19. Glossarium Comparativum Linguae Sanscritae, s. v.



By an interchange of E into O and again into A,—changes which are common within Tamil itself, as will be seen below—we have the Latin Or-ior and the Greek Or-numi “I rise.” But the Greek Er-chomai “I go” has preserved the original “E.” Our El again appears as Sol in Latin, Heol in the ancient speech of Brittany and Helios in Greek. The addition of an initial sibilant in the word Sol (for Ol) illustrates a common law in inter-dialectic phonetics. A good number of original roots, as found in Tamil, have undergone this change in the Aryan tongues, where, often, both the forms are also found. E.g., Paś as well as Spaś, “to look.” Another law, of which we shall find many instances, is the elision of the initial vowel or vowel-consonant of the original word in some of its new transformations. Thus Velic-cam or El-iyā “light” becomes Rksh “bright,” &c. The particular fondness for pronouncing two or more consonants together, without intervening vowels, will also be observed as a law governing the word-formation of the peoples of the Indo-European family.

The transition to light from its source was an easy one. And we find El also meaning “light,” “lustre,” and the compounds Ellavan, “possessor of light,” sun, Ellār, “bright ones,” gods. The Sinhalese has Eliya, light, “in the light” or outside, and Eli and Hela, “white.” Again, Aliyama and Aluyama, “daybreak,” Aḷu, “bright,” “ashes,” Aḷut, “fresh” “new.” The Latin Al-bus “white” and Alba, (French Aube) “daydawn” are from the same root. In a sense akin to this, we have Ēla, Ēlavē, “early,” also Veḷena, “as it dawns” or “becomes white” i.e., early. The corresponding Sinhalese derivative is Wēlāpaha. The Sinhalese Ela, white or goat, also Elu, is probably another derivative from El in the sense of white; so too the Sanskrit Elaka or Eḍa, sheep.

A later sense of El in the modified forms Ellu, Ellai or Elmai was “day,” “summer,” and from this, that of limit and time was evolved. In this sense Sinhalese has Wēlā, “limit” and Wēlāwa, “time” corresponding to the Tamil Vēli, “fence” and Vēlai, “time.” Compare the

Sinhalese Wella, “a bund” from which perhaps *Ḥla*, “channel” and *Ḥlla*, “a rapid” have been differentiated.

*El*, in the sense of brightness, became the word-basis of *El̥l̥*, “colour,” “gold,” “beauty.” (Compare Skt. *Lavana*, lustre, beauty); *Eluttu*, “painting,” “writing” (Cf. Skt. *Lipi*, Lat. *Littera*); and *Ilakku*, “to cause to blaze” *Ilīkam*, “painting,” “writing” (Cf. Skt. *Likh* and *Ling*, to paint, mark). In its strengthened form as *Keḷ*, *Keḷu* or *Kēḷ*, this root has the sense of brightness, colour. As *Kāl̥*, it means heat and assumes the more common form of *Kāy*. *Kēḷ* is represented in Sinh. by *Hel* or *Sel* “White”; The so-called Indo-European roots *Gla*, *Gar* and *Ghar* are but forms of the word-base *Kēḷ*. From them we have such a varied list of words as Skt. *Ghri*, *Gharma*, light, heat, Gr. *Chli-ein*, *Therm-os*, heat; Lat. *For-mus*, hot, *For-nax*; *Līl̥n*; *Clarus*, *In-cli-tus*, clear, great, &c. Anglo Sax. *Gloed*, glad. Eng. *Glow*, *Glass*; again Skt. *Hir-aṇa*, gold, *Hari*, yellow, Gr. *Chru-sos*, gold, *Chlo-ros*, yellow; Lat. *Hel-nus*, light yellow; Anglo Sax. *Geol-o*, yellow, gold. Once more Skt. *Har-y* to desire; Gr. *Chara*, joy, *Char-is*, favour; Latin *Gra-tus*, pleasing, &c., &c. Again *El* strengthened with initial *T* becomes *Teḷi*, “to be clear,” *Teri*, “to understand,” “pick out.” The first root gives again *Teḷivu*, “understanding,” “limpidness,” “tranquility” and “oil,” in the last sense probably influenced by another derivative, *El̥*, “oil-seed.” This *El̥* may be from *El̥*=*Eri*, to burn (Compare also *Ilutu*, “fat,” “oil”). But what is important to notice here is that the base *Teḷ* has given to Sanskrit its name for the oil plant *Tila*. The second root *Teri* is seen in the Sinh. *Tēṇawa*, “to know” and *Tōṇawa*, “to choose.”

*El*, “bright,” becomes more prolific in offshoots when strengthened with softer initial consonants. Thus, to give only a few instances, *Velicc-am* is Sinh. *Eliya*, light. Parallel forms from the same root in the other chief tongues are Lat. *Luc-eo*, *Lux*, *Fulg-eo*, *Flagr-o*, *Flamma*; Skt. *Brih*; Goth. *Bairh*; Eng., *Bright*; Vedic, *Arc*, *Rc*; Pali, *Acci*—all with the sense of “brightness.” Again Skt. *Ṛksh*,

“bright” Rocana, Ruci, Locana, “eye”; Aloka, “light”; Eng. Bleach; Skt., Svit, Sveta; Sinh., Sudu, “white”; Lat. Sidus, star; Eng., White, Wheat.

Another form of the same Tamil root, *Veļ-lai* means “white,” whose parallels in Sinh. are *Ela*, *Hela* and *Eli*. *Velliya* or *Vāliya* is found in Sinh. as *Weli*, “sand,” and in Skt. as *Vāluka* or *Bāluka*, “sand” and “camphor.” *Veli*, lightsome, i.e., open space, is the same as the Sinh. *Eli*, *Bahara* or *Bara* and the Skt. *Vahis* or *Bahis*. From *Veļ* again, we have *Veļu* and *Veḍku*, “to become pale,” “blush.” This becomes *Dele-henawa* in Sinh. (*Dele*, from the form *Coli* to be noticed later); *Lajj*, *Lajjā* in Skt.; *Blush* in Eng. (from *Blush* to *glow*) and *Blozen* in Dutch. The form *Veli* “open space,” above referred to, has also the verbal sense of becoming lightsome. In this sense a variant form is *Veḍi* “to show light through,” “to separate.” *Veḍḍu* is “to cut asunder.” These roots appear in Sinh. as *Veḍi*, “open,” *Veḍilla*, “report of a gun”; in Lat. as *Video*; in Skt. as *Vid*, “to see,” “to learn”; In Gr. as *Eidon*, *Idein*; In German as *Wissen*; and in Eng. as *Wit*. The sense of separating is seen in the Lat. *Di-vid-o*, *Indi-vid-uus*. The Skt. roots *Vid* *Bind*, *Bhid*, *Bil*, and *Bhil* are, doubtless, of the same origin as *Veli* and *Veḍḍu*.

There are still a few more illustrations to show the various ways in which the progeny of *El*, “the riser,” increased and multiplied. The base *El* was made to yield not only light but heat also, at the same time. Here the kindred root *Eri* “to send up flames” is more in evidence. *Eri* came to mean “to burn,” “to emit rays.” *Eri-ppu* meant burning; *Ner-uppu* with an initial soft consonant designated fire, while *Teṟ-u* with an initial hard consonant meant, “to burn down,” “destroy.” *Eri-ppu* also meant “sunshine” and *Niṟam* from this derivative meant “colour.” This new root *Eri* can be discerned in the Sinh. *Ira*, Skt. *Ravi*, “sun”; *Aruna* “of the colour of fire,” *Arusha*, *Rudhira*, *Rohita*, “reddish”; Lat. *Uro*. “I burn,” *Ruber*, “red,” *Aurum*, “gold”; Gr. *Erudros*, *Argos*, etc.

To make El yield other ideas associated with light and heat, a fresh root was framed with the aid of the interchangeable vowel O and the correlative U. Thus Oli meant "to bleach"; also, "light"; Oḷi was "light," "brilliancy," "knowledge." The Skt. Ushā and the Lat. Aurora, the Dutch Oost and Eng. East are based on this root. Coli "to emit rays," Cuḍu, "to burn" and Cullu, "heat," are regularly derived from it and find their parallels in the Skt. Jval, Jyoti, Dyud, etc., "to shine"; Dhavala, "white," D va, "heat," etc.; the Sinh. Dala, to blaze; Lat. Dies; Gr. Deatai, Delos, etc. Again, the Skt. roots Ush, Śush, (Lat. Secus) Vas, Śuch, Śudh, Śubh, and Śubh are traceable to the above noted Tamil forms. The Gr. Komphos, Katharos; the Lat. Castus; the old Germ. Sûbar, etc. are some of the strange disguises under which we meet with the multiparous El, the source of so many of our words.

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## EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

### No. 6.—GRAVES OF CAPTAIN OVEREND AND PRIVATE LUCKHAM AT THE MÁLDIVES.

#### Prologue.

The countless wrecks <sup>1</sup> that have strewn the “tempest-haunted” reefs of the Máldive Islands during the past four centuries—since European vessels first essayed to pass to and from the Far East through the treacherous lesser “Channels,” always more or less dangerous, which separate the Atols—have yielded terribly heavy toll to death; nor less of the drowned than of those who escaped the sea only to find lonely graves, long forgotten, on the shores of many an unknown island.

Whom the breakers grudgingly spared, “Máldive Fever”—that deadly scourge, which has ever clung to the Group—has persistently laid low.<sup>2</sup>

#### WRECK OF THE “CORBIN.”

*Ex uno disce omnes.* The ship “Corbin” (200 tons), in which was François Pyrard de Laval, sailed for the East, from St. Malo in France, on May 18th 1601, with the “Croissant” (400 tons).

On the night of July 2nd, 1602 owing to gross neglect of ordinary precautions, the “Corbin” drifted on to the reef of Goidú (Horsburgh) Atol of the Máldive Archipelago near the Island of “Pouladou” (Fuludú).

Pyrard (who returned to France in 1611, to write a full account of his adventures<sup>3</sup>) thus sums up the fate of the "Corbin's" Officers and crew:—

About forty in all survived the wreck (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I, p. 60).

The (Second) Mate and two sailors were the first taken to Mále (p. 57); then the Captain and five or six more (p. 59); Pyrard himself with two others being transferred to "*Paindoüe*" (Fehendú) Island.

The King's Officers took more of the crew to Mále; where the Captain and Second Mate died (p. 66).

From "*Pouladou*" the Mate and eleven sailors escaped (p. 67) in a Headman's boat, and reached Quilon; leaving eight, of whom half were sick. The Lieutenant died; as well as one of the crew who fell from a coco-tree (p. 68).

Afterwards Pyrard was taken to Mále, with one of the two sailors at "*Paindoüe*;" four still remaining at "*Pouladou*" (p. 73).

Fifteen or sixteen men had already been brought to Mále; but Pyrard found only three surviving—two Flemings and one Frenchman. The latter died eight days after Pyrard's arrival (pp. 77-78).

The Pilot ("English, speaking no French") and three sailors, had been put to death for an attempted escape (p. 79).

Pyrard's companion, left for a time at "*Maconnodou*" (Makunudú, North Mále Atol), was brought to Mále; making four, two Frenchmen and two Flemings.

Two months later Pyrard arranged for the five others to be brought from "*Pouladou*" and "*Paindoüe*;" thus making nine at Mále, five Flemings and four French (*ib.*)

Four Flemings got away, but were drowned (p. 86); leaving one Fleming and four French. One of the latter, Pyrard's great friend, died (p. 87).

This left alive two French—besides Pyrard himself, who was then sick at "*Bandos*" Island (Baḍos, North Mále Atol)—and one Fleming.

Finally, these four were taken to India in February 1607, by the hostile Malabar Expedition which killed the Máldive King (Sultán Íbráhim III: A.C. 1585—1607.)

Whether the Mate, or any of his eleven friends, got back to Europe is not known.

According to this synopsis, almost half of those lucky enough to get to shore from the "Corbin" died of sickness alone, and that in eighteen months or so.

### BRITISH DEATHS AT THE MALDIVES.

#### 1. Pilot of the "Corbin": A.C. 1602.

The first English victim to meet his death at Male was probably the intrepid and ill-fated Pilot of the "Corbin,"<sup>4</sup> who, so long as three centuries and more ago (A.C. 1602), seems to have pioneered an "Escaping Club"—a term made very familiar during the recent Great War.

With three companions he lost his life in the first venture, a martyr to that unquenchable spirit of reckless daring characteristic of the British race.

His futile bid for freedom was on this wise:—

"When the news came to the King of the escape of the Mate and the other men from *Pouladou*, he was so enraged that he swore a solemn oath that he would not let one of us go. I was assured by several of the Lords that otherwise he would have provided us with a barque, as we desired.

The Pilot, hearing this resolution, which confined him for life to these Islands, designed to get a barque and escape: like his friends of *Pouladou*. To this end he conspired with three of our sailors, and hid in a wood all that was required. Their design was discovered by the Islanders, who had remarked their goings to and fro the wood by the shore, and played spies over them. They then gave information to the six Elders, called *Mouscoulis* (M. *Musk'li-bé-kalun*) who rule the highest affairs of State; and they in turn informed the King.

Careful observation was made of the carriage of these four, and, on the night on which they were to embark, they were taken in the act by the soldiers, who put their feet in irons.

Two days afterwards the soldiers took them in boats, feigning to take them to some other Island; and when they were upon the sea they cut off their heads with blows of the *catty* (M. *katu*; Sin. *ketta*), which is made like a large bill-hook of this country, and of excellent steel, well-polished and

highly worked : it comes from the Malabar Coast, and cuts exceedingly well. They felled them by many blows ; and one who dealt only one blow was esteemed no good soldier (of the King).

The four corpses were flung into the sea.

After all, it is no wonder that the King was enraged at these attempts to escape on the part of our men ; for it is high treason to steal a barque or boat and to depart beyond the realm: that may not be done without passport, and a special and precise permit of the King, even though the boat were one's own. Without that it is death and unpardonable, and no one need hope for the King's mercy if convicted.

This crime is called *odican anpou* (M. *odi gengosfu* ; lit. "having taken away an *odi*").

I heard this sad news, and that of the natural death of our other comrades, as soon as I arrived at *Málé*.

At the same time one of the King's pilots told me that the twelve of *Pouladou*, who escaped with the Mate of our ship, had arrived at *Coilan* (Quilon) on the Coast, and had been put in irons on a Portuguese galley, where he had seen them; and would be taken to Goa." (*Huk. Soc. Pyrard*, I. pp. 78-80).

## 2. Captain J. C. Overend : A.C. 1797.

Nearly two centuries later another Englishman, a British Officer, to whom the Fates proved somewhat kinder, died at *Mále*. Also the victim of a wreck (A.C. 1797), Captain Overend was not "done to death," but succumbed to its dread fever (Pyrard, "*Málé ons*" ; M. *Mále hun*) within six weeks of reaching "*Sultán's Island*."

Here is the story in brief:—

The "Ketch of Tranquebar," freighted with piece-goods for Colombo by her recent purchasers Captain J. C. Overend and Mr. George Fischer, sailed from "the Island of Veypar near Tuticoryn" on January 6th, 1797, under command of J. H. Thuring, Lieutenant, Marine Survey, Netherlands' East India Company<sup>5</sup>.

Owing to stress of weather, and serious leakage, added to want of water and provisions, she was ultimately obliged to steer for the Máldives.



On the 20th they sighted, but could not fetch, "Rája Island" (Mále); and, after beating about for nine days, had "to make (29th) the first Island they could reach," anchoring "in 60 fathoms rocky ground."

"The Chief of the Island," appealed to personally by Captain Overend, "readily promised his aid, but delayed the fulfilment so long that the vessel stranded."

Disaster followed disaster. The Islanders, using violence, "refused to allow the crew to meddle with the cargo," pending a report to their "King"; and proceeded "to remove all the bales as well as the lead."

Sent at first to another Island, the Officers and crew were subsequently brought to "Rája Isle" (Mále). There they were taken before "the Second of the Island," who refused them audience with "the King," but offered "a boat to carry them to Cochin"

Demand for the restitution of the cargo was met by the reply that "very little was saved"; but, upon threat of protest to the Madras Government, the Chief "became more friendly," and promised to "give orders to bring all the cargo that was saved out of the vessel."

Fifteen days elapsed, "but no cargo appeared." The Master (J. H. Thuring), "being attacked with a violent fever, and it increasing daily on shore," was taken off by a chance English ship, and landed at Colombo on April 7th.<sup>6</sup>

Captain Overend had died at Mále on March 16th.

Late in 1800, at the request of the Madras Government, Sir F. North, Governor of Ceylon, forwarded (December 8th,) a translation of the whole correspondence regarding the "Tranquebar" to the reigning Sultán (Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín I), with this strong protest:—

"Had Your Highness at that time commenced Your auspicious reign, an act of such outrageous and unwarrantable violence would not have happened.

I am confident that Your justice will induce You to make ample reparation for an event so contrary to the hospitality which a friendly nation has a right to find in Your dominions; and so incompatible with those sentiments of friendship and good-will which Your Highness possesses towards the ships and subjects of Great Britain."

The Sultán, in reply, sent a "friendly explanation of the case"; which seems to have "perfectly satisfied" the Governments of Fort St. George (Madras) and Ceylon.

As the complaint was not pressed for more than three years after the occurrence of the wreck, and in the interval a new Sultán had succeeded to the throne,<sup>7</sup> the way was automatically smoothed for plausible excuses.

The only reparation Mr. Fischer obtained was by the sale of a very small portion of the wrecked goods which had found their way to Ceylon.

### 3. Private V. Luckham : A.C. 1909.

A further century or so had elapsed before a third Englishman was added to the quota of Great Britain's sons who have ended their days at this centre, and Capital, of "The Máldive Islands;" now the sole, isolated, Dependency of Ceylon, and still but little known.

On September 9th, 1909, Private Victor Luckham, R.M.L.I., of H.M.S. "Proserpine," was drowned, whilst bathing off Hulúle Island, about two miles from Mále, on the Eastern reef of North Mále Atol.

Like Captain Overend one hundred and twelve years before (A.C. 1797), Private Luckham was buried on Fonadú, an uninhabited island less than a mile north of Mále.

Full particulars of the accident and burial were furnished by the Commander of H.M.S. "Proserpine," H. J. T. Marshall, in a Report (summarised below) made to H. E. Rear-Admiral Slade, the Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies Station :—

A party of men, under a Petty Officer, had been allowed to go in boats (September 9th) for a picnic to the Island of Hulúlé about two miles distant from Mále. While bathing, Private Victor Luckham R.M.L.I. (who had been swimming about without difficulty between the reef and the beach) was unaccountably overcome, and sank before others could get to his assistance.

The Prime Minister at Mále, (A. Hájí Íbráhím Dídí Effendí)<sup>8</sup>, at once ordered boats and expert divers to the scene. When the body was recovered, all efforts to restore animation proved vain.

The same Minister, further, sent a party of men at dawn next day to Funidoo (Fonadú) Island to cut the undergrowth, clear the path to the burial ground, and dig the grave.

Private Luckham was buried with full military honours; and mourning flags were hoisted on all the Mosques on shore.

A temporary wooden cross has been set up; and two gravestones will replace it when ready.<sup>9</sup>

No inhabitants are permitted to approach the place, except by order of the Sulṭán.<sup>10</sup>

### Fonadu Island.

To the above Report was appended "*Hydrographic Notes, Etc.*," by Lieutenant R. Preston, R.N., in which interesting reference is made to Fonadú island and its graves :—

"Funidoo (Fonadú) is a well-wooded islet about 200 yards by 150 N. and S. The undergrowth seems well kept down, and a large well-kept path bisects the island from North to South.

On the South end of the island, at the end of the path, just before coming out on to the beach, is the grave of Captain Overend, H.M.S. "Doris," March 16th,<sup>11</sup> 1797; also the grave of Private Luckham, R. M. L. I.

There are numerous graves on each side of the path on the South side: these all had native inscriptions, though (by the size of the head and foot stones and their distance apart) several might be the graves of Europeans;<sup>12</sup> the rest being small and closer together, like the stones in the cemeteries in Malé Island. The native head-stones, some of which were very old, were found among the trees, which had displaced some of the graves.

The trees are apparently kept trimmed; and, I believe, the Sultan sends a party to clear up the island once every year. No one is allowed there at any other time; though some rabbits have been put down to breed.

The island has several varieties of large flowering trees and palms.

The landing place is on the "North side with Dunidoo, Dunidú, island N. 12° W."<sup>13</sup>

**Visit to Fonadu: A.C. 1922.**

During the Archaeological Expedition's stay at Mále in 1922, opportunity was taken (May 6th) to pay a visit to Fonadú island.

Paired with its similarly verdure-clad, and uninhabited, neighbour, Dunidú, to West, the small island of Fonadú, rising from the bluest of lagoons under the Tropical sun, presents a delightful picture. Both islands are wooded down to the very beach, in a luxuriant growth of varied jungle-trees and shrubs—notably *Cordia subcordata* (M. *káni*), and the fleshy-leaved *Scaevola Koenigii* (M. *magu*)—for the most part common to the sea-board of Ceylon.

Landing on the Northern side (the usual point of access, and difficult except at high tide) the two particular graves sought—several others lie quite apart—were soon reached along a semi-avenue, partially opened out, which looks across the water Southwards to Mále.

Some “ temple-tree ” (*Plumeria acutifolia*) saplings were growing on either side of the graves.<sup>14</sup> At head and foot of both stood peaked slabs, of “ reverse-shield ” shape, carved from madrepora (M. *hiri-gá*), such as mark every adult male interment throughout the many Muslim cemeteries at Mále. All four stones are alike, and measure 2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., across.

On the head-stone of Private Luckham's grave (which is just North of that said to belong to Captain Overend) has been cut neatly, within 3½-in. framing, in 1-in. capitals an inscription of ten lines. The epitaph runs :—

SACRED | TO THE MEMORY OF | PRIVATE  
VICTOR LUCKHAM | R.M.L.I. | H.M.S. PROSERPINE |  
DROWNED WHILE BATHING | AT HULULE NEAR  
MALE | 9TH AUGUST 1909 | AGED 24 YEARS |  
PEACE PERFECT PEACE.

The mason has blundered in one word : AUGUST should be SEPTEMBER.<sup>15</sup>

In regard to Captain Overend's grave (which was photographed : see Plate) what Lieutenant Preston's "*Notes*" had adumbrated proved all too true. Neither head nor footstone bore any incised record ; but across the top of the head-stone, a narrow board, 4 in. only in depth, had been affixed.

Upon this appear three brief lines of writing, carved in 2-in. letters, blackened :—

CAPTAIN OVEREND R.N. | H.M.S. "DORIS." |  
1797.

### **Visit to Fonadu: A.C. 1887.**

That the original grave-stone must have disappeared at some time during the period of twenty-two years between April 1887 and September 1909, and the few lines now cut on the strip of plank been substituted, is borne out by the following communication extracted from the Ceylon Press of the eighth decade of the last Century.

On April 14th and 16th, 1887, two very similar letters (combined below) were published in the "Ceylon Times" and the "Ceylon Observer," above the initials "F.C.H.," of an employee in the Basses and Minicoy Lights Office, Colombo at the time :—

"When on shore at Male on the 6th of April I was informed by some of the inhabitants that on the small island of Foonadu (Fonadú) an Englishman, or at least a British subject, was buried. At the same time they showed me a rough copy of the inscription which they had taken from the head-stone of the grave.

Owing to the faulty manner in which it was copied, I was not able to make much sense of the record ; but as the Islanders were very anxious for me to see it, and as Mr. Ibrahim Didi (Prime Minister), with his usual courtesy, placed his boat at my disposal, I very willingly consented to go.

There was no difficulty in finding the grave in question. It was nearly in the centre of the island, and under a large

breadfruit tree. The grave was nine (*sic*) feet long, and had a stone at the head and foot. On the former was engraved, in fine bold characters :—

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF CAPTAIN J. C. OVERAND,<sup>16</sup> LATE OF H.M.S. 36TH REGT., WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 16TH MARCH, 1797.

Can some one of your numerous readers say who this Captain Overand was, and explain by what strange fate he found his last resting place in so lonely and secluded a spot?"

Correspondence of 1800 regarding the loss of the "Tranquebar," having been fortuitously placed in his hands, the Editor, of the "Ceylon Observer," offered this comment (April 18th) :—

"The gallant soldier would seem at the time of his death to have embarked on a private speculation with a Mr. Fischer, having presumably severed his connection with war's hurly-burly and turned his attention to mercantile pursuits.

How, and by whom, the head-stone was carved, and placed to mark the lonely grave, has yet to be explained."

### Epilogue.

Every enquiry in 1922 at Mále failed—perhaps not unnaturally—to elicit any information as to when, and by whom, the original grave-stone was set up; as well as how, and why, the epitaph came to be so drastically altered.

Does Captain Overend's spirit brood still over the weird fate, which, in unwittingly robbing him of his true deserts, has tried to make some amends by posthumous promotion to the Senior Service!

*Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?* Captain J. C. Overend belonged to the 36th British Regiment of Foot (now the 2nd Battalion, Worcester Regiment), which served for many years in India about this time: he had no connection with the Royal Navy.

Yet mayhap some day this "gallant soldier" shall come into his own again, an it befall that judicious and earnest representation be made, with all due diligence, in the right direction. So mote it be.

## NOTES.

1. **Wrecks on the Maldives.**—The Nineteenth Century alone witnessed nearly thirty wrecks, recorded as having occurred on the Maldive Atols. See "List of Wrecks, 1797 to 1800" (*Ceylon Sessional Paper, XLIII* 1881, p. 133, *Appendix*); to which should be added five more of later years.

2. **"Maldivo Fever."**—This dire scourge (*M Māle kuu*) has been known and dreaded for centuries past—

(i) "In the midst of all this a fever seized me, and I was very ill. Everyone who goes to that Island (*Māle*) must inevitably catch the fever." (*Ibn Batūta*: A.C. 1344)

(ii) "I fell ill at *Māle* of a severe burning fever, very common there and very dangerous especially to strangers; so much so that few get over it—still less the Christians for whom there is no sort of cure. I was ill and in great danger for more than two months, and it was ten months before I was quite well" (*Pyrrard*: A.C. 1602). Many of his wrecked shipmates succumbed to the fever.

(iii) Captain Overend died at *Māle* (March 10th, 1797) within five or six weeks of arrival.

(iv) In 1835, Lieutenants Christopher and Young of the Indian Navy had to leave *Māle*, fever-stricken, when engaged on the Survey of the Maldive Archipelago, after only three months' stay.

(v) *Māle* is very subject to recurrent waves of this pestilence—apparently a virulent form of what is nowadays termed "Influenza." One such epidemic (300 deaths) struck *Māle* in the autumn of 1922; aided by its very congested area (6,000 inhabitants to 1½ square miles), bad water, and abominable insanitary conditions.

(vi) All three members of the Archaeological Expedition of 1922 continued to suffer periodically for two or three years after their return to Ceylon.

3. **Pyrrard "Voyage aux Indes Orientales"**—Four editions were issued, 1611, 1615, 1619, all 8vo 1679, 4to.

4. **Pilot of the "Corbin."**—Pyrrard does not record the name of this daring, but luckless, Englishman. He may have already sailed in Eastern seas under Lancaster, who made his First Voyage in A.C. 1501.

5. **Lieutenant J. H. Thuring.**—Leaving the Netherlands' Company Service, he settled in Ceylon. Descendants survive to this day. A grandson, Mr. W. P. Thuring, retired Station Master, C.G.R. (son of the late Dr. J. L. Thuring) died at Colombo on May 11th, 1928, aged 68.

6. **Captain Overend.**—The Captain of this English ship had charge of Captain Overend's watch, sword, trinkets, &c.

7. **Maldive Sultan.**—When the "Tranquebar" was wrecked Sulṭān Hasan Nūr-ūd-dīn was on the throne (A.C. 1779-1799). He died at Jeddah in his second *Hajj* pilgrimage; and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Muhammad Mu'in-ud-dīn I (A.C. 1799-1835).

8. **A Haji Ibrahim Didi. Bodu Dorimena Kilegeḡanu.**—This greatly esteemed Noble served as Prime Minister to the Sulṭāns of the Maldives, on and off, from 1883 to his death March 31st, 1925 or more than 40 years. *Multis ille flebilis occidit.*

**MÁLDIYE ISLANDS.**



**FONADÚ ISLAND.**

CAPTAIN OVEREND'S GRAVE A.C. 1922





Owing to pre-eminent administrative ability, loyal devotion to the real interests of his country and sterling personal qualities, he justly earned the appellation of "The Grand Old Man of the Máldives."

**9. The Lakkadive Islands.**—Carpenter Primrose of the "Vizier" (wrecked on Cheriyanani in 1853) is the only European (English), so far as is known, to have died on this more Northerly Group.

A roughly carved stone was erected at his grave on Chetlat by the crew of the "General Simpson," wrecked there in 1863.

**10. The Maldive Islands.**—Papers, Part III, p. 49.

**11. Captain Overend's Grave.**—The epitaph as given by Lieutenant Preston includes the month and day (March 16th) of his death.

It is more than probable therefore, that in 1922 a fresh board had replaced that of 1909, for it now gives only the year (1797).

**12. Other European Graves.**—Lieutenant Preston hints at other Europeans having died at Mále and been buried on Fonadú island.

No evidence supporting this presumption was forthcoming, at Mále in 1922, though fullest enquiry was made. It is significant that the graves of Captain Overend and Private Luckham (Christians) are well separated from all others.

**13. The Maldive Islands.**—Papers, Part III, p. 50.

**14. Flebile ludibrium.**—One "temple-tree"—*homosco reticens*—had been actually planted in the centre of each grave; besides a thriving young-coconut plant on that of Captain Overend!

The Máldive authorities graciously promised to have these "excrescences" removed from the graves and volunteered, further, that more attention would be paid to their proper upkeep in future.

Horizontal slabs laid between head and foot stones, as suggested on the spot, (1922) would be both economical and effective.

**15. H.M.S. "Proserpine"**—Left Colombo on September 3rd, 1909, "with a Mail for the Máldive Islands;" arriving at Mále on September 6th. Private Luckham was drowned three days afterwards.

**16. Misspelt name.**—"F.C.H." spells the Captain's name, as taken from the stone, both OVERAND and OVERAN (the latter doubtless a clerical error). The correspondence of 1800 gives the correct spelling, OVEREND.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### THE INSCRIPTION AT FORT FREDERICK, TRINCOMALEE.

By H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

The legendary history of the great temple of Kónēsvara, which once stood upon the promontory now occupied by Fort Frederick at Trincomalee, is given in the *Kalveḍḍu*; a précis of this work appears in Brito's *Vaiṣṇavaśalai*. The temple is said to have been founded by King Kuḷakkóḍaṇ, son of Manuvéntaṇ, in the Kaliyuga year 512 (B.C. 2590). It was destroyed by Constantino de Sa in 1624 and the materials used for the construction of the fort.

On the right side of the main entrance to the existing fort is an inscription cut beneath two fishes. On the left side of the gateway immediately opposite appear two other fishes; the workmanship of these is much inferior to that of the first mentioned pair. The local tradition is that the stone on the right side of the gateway came from the great temple, and that the inscription contains the following prophecy:—

முன்னே குளக்கொட்டன் மூட்டு நிறுப்பணியை  
பின்னே பறங்கி பிடிக்கவெ—மன்னோசை  
பூனைக்கண் செங்கண் புகைக்கண்ணன் போனபின்  
மானே வடுகாய் விடும

The Portuguese shall take the holy edifice built by Kuḷakkóḍaṇ in ancient times. O King, hearken! After the cat's-eyed one, the red-eyed one, and the smoke-eyed one have gone, the figure will be that of the Northerner (i.e., Telugu).

The earliest mention of the inscription is in the Portuguese original of “Beschryving end Carten van den Eyland Ceylon,” preserved at the Rijks-archief at the Hague, the

letter-press of which dates from about 1627. The part relevant to our subject runs as follows:—

Triquilimale.....Doen ick ginck om dit fort te maaken vant ick inde pagoda geschreven, onder veele schriften die daar waren eenen die aldus sprack:

deese Pagoda heeft doen maeken.....(so in the manuscript)

Nochtans sal den tyt comen dat de natie der frangis die sullen breecken: Daer en sal geen coning int eylant van Ceylon weesen die die weder sal herbouwen;

De frangis is de vyant die wy in geheel orienten hebben.

Triquilimale.....When I went to make this fort I found in the pagoda among many inscriptions which were there one written, which spoke thus:—

This pagoda was caused to be made by.....

The time will come when the nation of the Frangis will destroy it and there will be no King in the Island of Ceylon who will build it again.

The Frangis are the enemy whom we have in all the East.

The last sentence I take to be a comment by the Dutch translator.

A more detailed account is found in Codex 51-viii-40 in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon:—

Destruio Constantino de Sã de Menezes estes pagodes, e da pedra delles fez huã fortaleza, pera fechar aquelle porto ao Chingala, e não sendo capaz de bateria, veyo tambem a ficar com muy pouca goarniçaõ. Achou se este successo da destruiçaõ deste pagode grauado em huã pedra, e justificado pello Ouvidor de Ceilaõ, depois de vertido pellos mais peritos das letras antigas dos Chingalãs, foi mandado a sua Majestade, e dizia o seguinte.

Manica Rajã Bau Imperador deste Lançauê, leuanteu este Pagode ao Deos Vidiã-mal-manda, na era....(conforme a conta vinhaõ a ser 1300 annos antes da vinda de Christo) Virã hua naçaõ chamada dos Francos, que o derribará, e não auera Rey nesta Ilha, que outra vez o reedifique.

Esta pedra se pos na porta de fortaleza; e não faça duuida chamar Francos aos Portuguezes; porque como os Francezes em seculos passados, foraõ taõ conhecidos na Suria, e daly soou seu nome em toda esta Asia; a todo o Europeo, chamaõ nella com alguã corrupçaõ Franguis, como se todos foraõ Francezes; e basta ser gente branca, e não uestir cabaya, pera lhe chamarem Franguis. Nem eu posso dar outra rezaõ de quem predisse esta verdade tanto de futuro a hum Rey idolatra; porque se a dedicaçaõ do Pagode diz idolatria, a predissaõ taõ anticipada de sua destruiçaõ, diz profecia, do que nos não pode constar o author na escuridade das radiçaõs da India. E ainda que Constantino de Sa destruiu estes pagodes, durou o culto delles athê os tempos do Geral Dom Nuno Alurez Pereira, em que foraõ degolados os ultimos Ganês, e Jedaças que o continuauaõ.

Constantino de Sa de Menezes destroyed these pagodas, and with the stones thereof made a fortress to close that Port to the Chingala, and as it was not large enough for a battery it also came to have a very small garrison. This event of the destruction of this pagoda was found engraved on a stone and, being authenticated by the Ouvi-

dor of Ceylon after it had been translated by those most learned in ancient letters of the Chingalas it was sent to His Majesty, and it said as follows:—

Manica Rajâ Bau Emperor of this Lançauê erected this pagoda to the god Vidâ-mal-manda in the year. . . (according to the reckoning it comes to be 1300 years before the coming of Christ). There will come a nation called of the Franks who will destroy it, and there will be no King in this Island to rebuild it once more.

This stone was placed in the gate of the fortress; and there is no doubt that it is the Portuguese who are called Franks; because as the French in past ages were so well known in Syria and thence their name resounded in all this Asia, they called therein every European with some corruption Franguis, as though they were all French; and it suffices to be white folk and not to wear a cabaya to be called Franguis by them. Nor can I give any account who it was who foretold this truth so distant in futurity to a heathen King; for if the dedication of the pagoda implies idolatry, the prediction of its destruction so far back implies prophecy, the author of which cannot be manifest to us in the obscure state of the traditions of India. And though Constantino de Sa destroyed these pagodas, their worship continued until the time of the General Dom Nuno Alurez Pereira, when the last Ganês and Jedaças who carried it on were beheaded.

De Queyroz, who has embodied the above, gives the King's name as Manua Rajâ (p. 51).

The annexed plate shows the inscription as it now is, but unfortunately omits the last line.

	<i>Text.</i>	<i>Transliteration.</i>
1.	(மு)னனெ குள	(mu)ṇṇe Kuḷa-
2.	காட்டன மூட்டு	k(o)ḍḍaṇ mūdḍu
3.	(தி)ருப்பணியை	(ti)rup-paṇiyai
4.	னனெ பறங்கி	ṇṇe Paraṅki
5.	(க)கவெ மனன	(k)kave maṇṇa
6.	ன பெண்ணை	ṇa peṇṇā
7.	(ச)ந யியற்று	(sa)ṇa yiyarr(u)
8.	. (ெ)தவைத்	. t(e)vait
9.	. (ன)ன . .	. (ṇ)ṇā . .
10.	. . கள	. . kaḷ

The initial and final letters of each line are missing owing to the stone having been cut. The first five lines of the inscription clearly agree with the traditional prophecy; the remaining lines do not. On the assumption that the Dutch and Portuguese versions represent the actual text,





the following reconstruction is offered tentatively by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., and through his courtesy is published here :—

- (1) முன்னே குராக் (2) கோடன் மூட்டுந் (3) நிருப்பணியைப்  
(4) பின்னே பறங்கு பி (5) ரிக்கவே—மன்னவ (6) பின்  
பொண்ணுத (7) தனையற்ற வழி (8) தீச்சுவைத்து  
(9) எண்ணர்வருவே (10) த்தாகவர்.

- (1). Muṇṇé Kuḷak-(2) kóḷaṇ múḷḍuṇ-(3) tirup-paniyaip-  
(4) piṇṇé Paraṇki pi-(5) rikkavé. Maṇṇava-(6) piṇ  
ponṇáta-(7) taṇai viyarra vaḷi-(8) ttévattu  
(9) eṇṇára varuvé (10) ntarkal

O King! the Portuguese shall later break down the holy edifice built by Kulakkodaṇ in ancient times and it shall not be rebuilt nor will future Kings think of doing so

The letter ன in line 7, however, does not seem to find its counterpart on the stone.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, the Madras Government Epigraphist, who has examined the estampage at the request of the Archaeological Commissioner, reports: "The record may belong to the sixteenth century A.D. to judge from palaeography." Thus the prophecy was merely an intelligent forecasting of events. The pair of fishes, the usual badge of the Pāṇḍyan Kings, almost certainly is earlier in date than the sixteenth century, by which time the Pāṇḍyan kingdom had ceased to exist; perhaps they were carved in the thirteenth century, when the Pāṇḍyans came into contact with Ceylon and Trincomalee, as witnessed by the following record (Annual Report of Epigraphy, Madras, 421 of 1907) :—

Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II. "killed one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols, chauris, and other royal possessions, planted the Pāṇḍya flag with the double fish at Kōṇamalai, and the high peaks of the Trikūṭagiri mountain, received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon, and subdued the Kerala."



## GAJABAHU I AND MAHALLAKA NAGA— THEIR RELATIONSHIP.

By S. PARANAVITANA, Anuradhapura.

There is a certain amount of uncertainty as to the relationship that Gajabahu I bore to his successor, Mahallaka Nāga. According to Prof. Geiger's translations of the *Mahāvamsa* (p. 255) Mahallakanāga was his predecessor's father-in-law. But the *Pñjāvaliya*<sup>1</sup> and *Rājāvaliya*<sup>2</sup> both agree in stating that these were brothers-in-law. In his article on the Maharatmale rock inscription of Mahādāthika Mahānāga<sup>3</sup> (hitherto wrongly ascribed to Mahallakanāga), Mr. Wickremasinghe discusses this point but comes to no definite conclusion.

The Pali word by which this relationship is expressed in the *Mahāvamsa* is *sasuro*. In my opinion, this word could be interpreted in such a way so that the apparent discrepancy between the Pali chronicle and the Sinhalese historical works disappears. The only meaning given of this word in the Pali dictionaries is 'father-in-law.' But a passage in the *Jātaka* (VI, 445) proves that sometimes *sasura* meant 'brother-in-law' as well. In the Mahā Um-maggā Jātaka the Bodhisattva, then known as Mahosadha, the hero of the story, in introducing to king Videha his (the King's) brother-in-law Prince Pañcāla Caṇḍa, says:—  
"Ayan-te sasuro deva." This has been translated by Cowell and Rouse as 'This is now your father-in-law' and a note is given saying that 'The brother takes the place of the

1. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's translation, Colombo, 1895, p. 22.

2. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's translation, Colombo, 1900, p. 49.

3. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, pp. 38 §. For my reasons in ascribing this inscription to Mahādāthika Mahānāga, see my article on the Molahūyavelēgala inscription of Bhātika Abhaya, which will appear in due course in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

absent father-in-law<sup>4</sup> according to the scholiast.' It is hardly likely that any such idea is expressed by the Commentator in his notes on this word which are:—*Ayan-te sasuro ti, ayan-tava sasursassa Cūḷaṇi rañño putto Pañcāla Caṇḍiyā Kaṇṭṭha-bhātiko ayan te idāni sasuro*<sup>5</sup> (*Ayan-te sasuro*, etc. This is the son of your father-in-law, King Cūḷaṇi, and the younger brother of Princess Pañcāla Caṇḍi, now, this is your brother-in-law). The word 'now' is introduced not to emphasise the absence of the father-in-law, but as this speech was delivered just after King Videha had espoused the sister of prince Pañcāla Caṇḍa as his wife, and therefore he had just become his brother-in-law. Moreover, the Sinhalese translation of the *Jātaka* knows nothing of such an explanation; but simply uses the word *suhuru-baḍu* for Pali *sasura*. The Sinhalese words for brother-in-law *suhuru*<sup>6</sup> and *hūru* are both derived from this Pali *sasuro* and are further evidence for this proposition. Pali *sasura* meaning 'father-in-law' is equivalent to the Sanskrit *śvasūra* and *sasura* (brother-in-law) to its *taddhita* derivative *śvasūrya*. I think I have adduced enough evidence to show that *sasuro* is also used in Pali to represent the Sanskrit *śvasuryas* and hence means 'brother-in-law.' If this interpretation of the word be adopted the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* will both be in agreement in stating that these two monarchs stood in the relationship of brother-in-law to each other.

Admitting that *sasuro* has both these meanings, it may still be argued that the old chronicler used it in the sense of 'father-in-law,' and that the author of the *Pūjāvaliya* was at fault in adopting the alternative meaning. But it is unlikely that he should have discarded the obvious meaning of a word and adopted a very rare one, unless he had not enough reasons for this. Moreover, the historical chapter of the *Pūjāvaliya* and the other Sinhalese Chronicles do

4. *Jātaka* translation, Vol. VI., p 229.

5. *Jātaka* VI., 445

6. In *Suhurubadu*, the latter part of the compound is derived, most probably from *bhadra* an endearing epithet.

not always depend on the *Mahāvamsa*, and have drawn from sources which are no longer available to us.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that he followed these in his statement as regards Mahallakanāga's relationship to his predecessor. And it is also more probable, *prima facie*, that a King who enjoyed a pretty long reign of twenty-two years, and must have been a man of mature years on his death, was succeeded by his wife's brother rather than by her father.

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7. See Geiger's *Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa*, p. 105.

## SOME LITERARY UNDERTAKINGS OF

The late Simon Casie Chitty, Esq., C.C.S., M.R.A.S.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

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Mr. Simon Casie Chitty was born at Kalpitiya on the 21st of March, 1807, and he died there on the 5th of November 1860, in the 54th year of his age, after faithfully serving Government for 36 years in various capacities, viz., Interpreter to sitting Magistrate's Court, Kalpitiya, 1824; Maniagar of Puttalam, 1828; District Mudaliyar, 1833; Member of the Legislative Council, 1838-1845; Appointed to the Civil Service as Police Magistrate of Kalpitiya, 1845; Acting District Judge of Chilaw, 1848; appointment confirmed in 1852.

Though the eminence to which he rose in the Government Service, of which he was one of the highest ornaments of his time, was unique in its day, yet his claim to memory is now chiefly that of a man of letters.

Mr. Simon Casie Chitty was one of the earliest Orientalists and Antiquaries whom Ceylon produced. Self-taught as he was, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the *Tamil*, *Sinhalese*, *Sanskrit*, *Arabic* and *Hebrew* languages besides *Latin*, *Greek*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*.

The object of this Note is to rescue from oblivion the Historical, Scientific and Oriental researches of this erudite scholar and distinguished member of the Civil Service. For convenience sake, I have arranged Mr. Casie Chitty's literary undertakings under three headings:—

### (A) Contributions to Periodicals.

1. To *The Madras Government Gazette*.

“On the identity of Koodremale (Horse's mountain), a promontory on the N-W. coast of Ceylon, with the

Hippurus, mentioned by Pliny (lib. vi cap. 22) ”;<sup>1</sup> written under the assumed name of “Indiophilos.” (September 16, 1830).

2 To *The Ceylon Government Gazette*.

- (a) “On the affinity between the Maldivian and Sinhalese languages, (December 11, 1830).
- (b) “On the affinity between the Javanese and Sanskrit languages ”<sup>2</sup> (February 26, 1831).
- (c) Translation of Kavi Raja Varotheiyen’s poem, giving an account of the origin and history of the Hindu Temple at Trincomalie, (November 26, 1831).

3. To *The Colombo Journal*,

- (a) History of the Queen Alliyarasany, <sup>3</sup> (March 23, 1833).
- (b) Letters signed “A Native”
  - (1) On the condition of the Natives (February 29, 1832).
  - (2) On Natives being appointed to offices of trust (April 4, 1832)
  - (3) On the controversy between Natives and Burghers (April 11, 1832).

The publication of these letters gave rise to a most interesting discussion at the time.

4. To *The Colombo Friend*,

“On the affinity between the ancient Egyptians and the Brahmans. (See No. 5 of 1838).

5. To *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*,

- (a) “Remarks on the origin and history of the Parawas.” (O.S. Vol. iv, p. 130, 1837).
- (b) “Remarks on the site and ruins of Tamvanna Nuwara with a survey.” (O.S. Vol. vi. p. 242, 1841).

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1, 2 and 3 re-appeared with additions in Ceylon Magazine (Vide Vol. I pp. 16, 390 and 95, respectively.)

- 6 To *The Colombo Religious Tract Magazine*,  
“On Life of Rev. Philipus de Melho,”<sup>4</sup> (1859).
7. To *The Colombo Observer*,
  - (a) “On the illustrations of the manners, customs and literature of the Tamils.” (1840). Through the courtesy of the late Dr. C. Elliott 14 chapters appeared in detached pieces.<sup>5</sup>
  - (b) Aphorisms of the Tamils (April 6, 1840).
  - (c) Extract from Kasi Kandam (April 13, 1840).
8. To *The Ceylon Magazine*,
  - (a) Brief notices of the Tamil Philosophers and Poets in the South of India and Ceylon. (Vol. I pp. 8, 64, 144, 194, and 229).
  - (b) Remarks on the Language and Literature of the Tamils (Vol. I. p. 51).
  - (c) An account of the Ceylon Moss (Vol. I. p. 243).
  - (d) Remarks on coconut planting in the Peninsula of Calpentyne (Vol. I. p. 527).
  - (e) Creation and Fall of Adam according to the Moham-  
medan Legends. (Vol. I. p. 346).
9. To *The Ceylon Almanac*,  
“Chronological table of the events connected with Ceylon from A.D. 1505 to 1842. (See Almanac for 1843. pp. xlvii-lxvi).
10. To *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (C. B.)*,
  - (a) An account of some ancient coins found at Calpentyne in 1839 (Vol. I. No. 1. p. 69).
  - (b) Translation of the Sixth Chapter of the Tiruvattavur Purana. (Vol. I. No. 2. p. 63).
  - (c) History of Jaffna from the earliest period to the Dutch Conquest. (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 69).
  - (d) Translation of a Royal Grant engraved on a copper plate. (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 109).

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4. See also Tamil Plutarch pp. 67-76.

5. I have copied out these chapters and shall be glad to place them at the disposal of some one who would get them printed in book form.

- (e) Catalogue of Tamil books with the names of their authors, etc. (Vol. II. No. 4, p. 53).
  - (f) An outline of the Tamil system of natural History (Vol. II. No. 5, p. 29).
  - (g) Rock Inscription of Piramanankandal. (Vol. II. No. 7, p. 90).
  - (h) An analysis of the great poem of the Moors, entitled Seerah. (Vol. II. No. 7, pp. 90-97).
11. To *The Ceylon Miscellany*,  
 "On the Rodiyas with a specimen of their language" <sup>6</sup>  
 (Vol. I. p. 215, 1853).

### (b) Published Works.

1. A correct outline of the classification of the Tamil castes, 1831. <sup>7</sup>
  2. A summary account of the origin and history of the Mukwas in the District of Puttalam, 1831. <sup>8</sup>
  3. An essay on the ceremonies observed by the Tamil Castes, 1831. <sup>9</sup>
- Copies of the above publications were presented to Governor Sir Wilmot Horton, and were favourably received by him, whilst Sir Alexander Johnston, President of the Royal Asiatic Society of London not only noticed them in a handsome manner, but also proposed Mr. Casie Chitty as a corresponding member of the Society.
4. Essay on the manners and customs of the Moors of Ceylon, 1832. <sup>10</sup>
  5. The "Ceylon Gazetteer" (1834), the first attempt of the kind, is by far the best and most useful production of Mr. Casie Chitty. Every facility of Government was afforded for carrying it through the Press. Only 500 copies of it were printed. The Secretary of State for

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6. Appeared also in the C. B. R. A. S., Journal No. 8 for 1855.

7. Vide also Ceylon Gazette pp. 227-234.

8. Ibid pp. 275-280.

9. Ibid pp. 239-251.

10. Ibid pp. 254-271. I have recently purchased the MS. copy of this article addressed to Sir Alexander Johnston, for a handwriting specimen of this eminent Ceylon Litterateur.

the Colonies awarded 100 Guineas to Mr. Casie Chitty as an honorarium for the industry displayed in the compilation. Sir Charles Marshall, the Chief Justice and Sir John Wilson, the Commander of the Forces, bore testimony to the merits of the work. The *Colombo Observer* of March 17, 1835, in referring to the work editorially, says that "the author of the "Gazetteer" Simon Casie Chitty, Modliar, a native of the Island, has rendered himself deserving of lasting praise for the manner in which he has combated with, and overcome the difficulties that must have presented themselves, while collecting material for the accomplishment of his arduous undertaking, and the complete success that has attended his efforts proves him to be a man possessed of a degree of energy for which his countrymen generally, seldom have credit, but which ought in him to be liberally awarded, so that others may be induced to exert themselves and pursue the same useful course equally advantaging the island and benefiting the community at large."

6. Tamil Translation of the Epitome of the History of Ceylon—1839—dedicated to the Hon'ble George Turnour
- 7 "Malei Agaradi," or Botanical Dictionary, arranged in alphabetical order, 1840. This work was the outcome of the formation for Dr. Stewart, P. C. M. O. of an Herbarium, consisting chiefly of a collection of dried specimens of plants found in Chilaw District.
8. Udayaditya or the Rising Sun (1841), a Tamil Newspaper, discontinued after a trial of 13 months.
9. Life of Father Jeseph Vaz, (1848).
10. Sketch of the rise and progress of the Catholic Church in Ceylon. (1848).
11. Notes on the Book of Genesis with illustrations from Hindu and Mohammedan sources, (1853), a work exhibiting great research and extensive Biblical knowledge.



12. Kudarktikaram, an answer to a gross libel on Christianity published by one Mustan Saibo, a Moorman, under the title of Christamada Kandaram Vachchira Thandanam, (1854).
13. The *Tamil Plutarch*, <sup>11</sup> containing a summary account of the lives of the Poets and Poetesses of South India and Ceylon from the earliest to the present times, (1859), a work referred to in Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

### (c) Unpublished Works.

1. Catalogue of Tamil plants with their Linnaean names.
2. The Hindu system of Natural History.
3. The Sanskrit and Tamil Dictionary.
4. Thesaurus of foreign words and phrases in use amongst the Tamils.
5. An English and Tamil Lexicon.

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<sup>11</sup>. For Press reviews of this work see "Colombo Observer" of October 15, 1859 and "Ceylon Times" of October 11, 1859.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

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NOTE.—At a Council Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, held on the 19th October, 1927, the following resolution was passed :—

“ It was decided that a section of the Journal be devoted to such references and that notes and reviews be added where possible and that the **Honorary** Secretaries be authorized to refer any references to competent members for review.”

In pursuance thereof the following reviews and notes on books relating to Ceylon have been prepared by members of the Society. The **Hon.** Secretary would be obliged if members would bring to his notice any new books or magazine articles relating to Ceylon, and within the sphere of the activities of the Society.

Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy, for the years ending 31st March, 1925 and 31st March, 1926 by G. Venkoba Rao.

Since the systematic study of South Indian inscriptions was first begun in 1887 by the late lamented Dr. Hultzsch, the reports issued by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in Madras bring to light every year, several hundreds of old inscriptions, in various languages and belonging to the rulers of the different dynasties which held sway from time to time in this part of the country. The whole collection thus brought to the notice of the learned world amounts to several thousands of epigraphs which are a rich source of information for the student of South Indian history.

The two reports under review maintain the standard of their predecessors; and of the many interesting facts disclosed by the newly-discovered documents, the following might prove of interest to readers of this journal. **The**

most important historical record reviewed in the report for 1925 is, according to Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the copper plates of the *Sālaṅkāyana* Kings, which throw welcome light on this little known dynasty. By the help of the information available from these plates, a tentative genealogical table has been prepared, and the conclusion is also arrived at that the ruler named Hastivarman of Veṅgi, mentioned in the Allahabad *prasāsti* of Samudragupta was one of this dynasty.

Among the copper plate grants of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga, included in this report, there is one of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, issued from a city named Dantāpura. It may be recalled that according to the *Dāḥhāvamsa*, this city was the capital of the Kālīṅgas when the Tooth Relic was brought to Ceylon from that country in the time of Sri Meghavarṇa.

No. 21 of 1925, a record of the Chola King Rājadhirajā II contains a reference to the War of the Pandyan Succession, in which the Sinhalese and the Cholas took different sides. According to this and other Chola inscriptions referring to this war, it appears that Parākramabāhu suffered reverses towards the close of his reign.

The most important among the inscriptions noticed in the report for 1926 are the Brahmi records from Nagarjunikoṇḍa in the Guntūr District, belonging to the Kings of the Ikhāku dynasty which held sway over these districts in the third century. They mention the sect of the Avaiyas, (Aparasailīyas). Another Brāhmi inscription discovered in 1924 at Allūru in the Kistna District refers to the Puvaseliyas (Purvasailīyas). The Pūrva and Aparasailīyas, it may be stated, are included among the heretical schools mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa* (Ch. V 54).

Among the Chola inscriptions copied during this year one (N. 231 of Appendix C) contains a reference to the ill-fated expedition sent by Kassapa V to help the Pandyan King Rājāsinha against Parāntaka I. The report also discusses, with special reference to Ceylon chronology, that obscure

period of Chola history from the death of Parāntaka I to the accession of Rājarāja I. This will certainly be a useful contribution to the subject, though the conclusions arrived at may not be universally accepted.

No. 14, 29, and 30 of 1926, from the Ramnad district bring to notice a family of chiefs who were feudatories of the Vijayanagar Emperor Krishnarāya. What makes them of interest to students of Ceylon history is that one of the *virudas* adopted by them was "who saw the backs of the eighteen Vanniya heroes." About this period, the Vanniya play a considerable part in the history of Ceylon and somewhat earlier Parākramabāhu VI of Kōtṭe took credit to himself for vanquishing the eighteen Vannis (see *Girā Sandesa*, v. 128).

One of the most important features of the Tamil inscriptions in South India consists in the interesting information that they give us about the village assemblies. Among this year's collection an inscription of Rājarāja III informs us that the assembly of one village "was meeting both in the day time and at nights for deliberating on affairs connected with the village administration and the revenue matters relating to taxes, etc., and that as this involved an expenditure of oil for lamps and torches in excess of the quantity sanctioned by the *sabhā*, it was ordered that the assembly should meet only during day time." This shows with what scrupulous care the village finances were administered by these old-time village republics.

## S. PARANAVITANA.

*O Gabinete Numismático*, by Ernesto Ennes, Lisbon, 1927.

The publication of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon is descriptive of certain coins and medals in the cabinet of that institution, under the following heads:—

1. Coins of Portuguese India.
2. Portuguese Medals or Medals connected with Portugal.

3. Autonomous Coins of the Spanish Peninsula.

4. Coins of the Germanic Epoch.

The great majority of the coins described under the first head are of the reigns of D. Pedro II (1683-1706) and subsequent sovereigns, only three pieces being of earlier date. Of these three two only, both recently acquired, are of interest to Ceylon; one a Malacca tanga of 1635 and the other a Diu "Half Xerafim" of 1655. Both are countermarked but no description is given. The so-called "Half Xerafim" really is a double tanga; the old weight standard was preserved for certain issues for use outside the capital after the local reduction at Goa in 1650. Both coins are said to be "very rare," a description to which exception will be taken in Ceylon.

Under the second head may be noted medals nos. 57, 58 and 59 dedicated to the Duke of Wellington, and nos. 208 and 210 commemorating the visit of King Edward VII to Portugal in 1903 and the return visit of King Carlos and Queen Amelia to England in the following year.

The third head is descriptive of the coins issued by the various native communities of the Peninsula prior to the Roman occupation, while under the fourth head are given coins of the Suevi and Visigoths. It is interesting to compare these coins, especially the head on the Suevic coin No. 2, with the Indo-Roman pieces issued in Ceylon. Both profess to reproduce Roman models.

The publication is well got up, but its value is impaired by the failure to record weights and sizes in the case of coins and by the absence of plates. There are a few woodcuts of Teutonic coins.

H. W. C.

Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552. Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesen, sowie der Franziskaner und Jesuitenmission auf Ceylon in Urtext herausgegeben und erklärt von G. Schurhammer und E. A. Voretzsch. In two volumes. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig, 1928.

This work contains with certain additions the same documents, taken from the same sources as Dr. Pieris and Miss Fitzler's *Ceylon and Portugal, Part I, Kings and Christians*, which is reviewed in this issue. Most of the 142 documents published were discovered by Dr. Schurhammer who has worked with great diligence and effect in Lisbon. The period chosen, 1539-1552, as is explained in the preface, is one of considerable importance in Ceylon History, including the founding of the Franciscan and Jesuit Missions, the advance of the Portuguese, the death of Bhuvaneka Bahu and the quarrels of the rulers of Kotte, Sitavaka and Kandy.

The introduction (78 pages) is of great interest. It goes over the history of Ceylon during the selected 13 years in the first place according to the texts now published, and afterwards as shown in existing literature, and an important part of the book is a discussion of this literature, which shows that the editors have prepared for their task by reading everything that was available on the period. The texts are given in the original.

It is a most important work throwing a new light on the history of these difficult years.

C. H. C.

*Ceylon and Portugal, Part I. Kings and Christians 1539-1552. From the Original Documents at Lisbon. By Dr. P. E. Pieris and M. A. H. Fitzler. Verlag der Asia Major. Leipzig, 1927.*

The 61 letters and two royal grants comprised in this publication throw much light on the intrigues of the three Singhalese Kings, (Bhuvanaika Bāhu at Kotte, Māyāḍunne at Sītāvaka and Vikrama Bāhu at Senkaḍagala), to gain some advantage at each other's expense by the aid of the Portuguese, who, fishing in troubled waters, ultimately were the greatest winners. The letters from the local Governors, the Viceroys at Goa, and the King of Portugal display that pertinacity in the midst of disappointments and failures

which helped the Portuguese to secure and maintain rule in the maritime belt of Ceylon for a century and a half. The letters from the Sinhalese kings and princes show how unequal to the situation were their minds and characters. Disunion, and a habit of temporising led to compromising obligations to the Portuguese who on the other hand, hesitated at no degree of force and compulsion whenever conditions seemed to call for such measures.

The translations from the originals, (treasures in the archives at Lisbon) are by Dr. Paul E. Pieris and Fräulein M. A. H. Fitzler. An interesting review of the events and circumstances is given in the introduction by Dr. Paul E. Pieris who judges the Portuguese were more to blame. Fräulein Fitzler adds, in some 'Notes,' four valuable essays on the arms, the sea-going vessels, the religious supervision of converts, and the titular distinctions of the Portuguese of the period.

That a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, has studied the original documents in the archives at Lisbon and worked at their translation and publication, is a credit to the Society; historical students in Ceylon cannot be without copies of the book; all will look forward to further instalments from these Portuguese State papers, and meanwhile thank the authors for their unselfish labours.

A. NELL.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1926. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1927.

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington for the year 1926 (Government Printing Office, Washington \$1.75) contains some interesting references to Ceylon. In the appendix is a paper entitled "A Visit to the Gem Districts of Ceylon and Burma by Frank D. Adams, of McGill University, Montreal, Canada, which contains a good account of the methods of working the gem pits in the

Ratnapura District, and an account of the rocks in which the gems occur. A further paper on "Fragrant Butterflies" by Austin H. Clark contains numerous references to the butterflies of Ceylon, and their odors.

C. H. C.

CEYLON, Past and Present. By Major C. M. Enriquez ("Theophilus") Hurst & Blackett Ltd, London, 1927.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4} \times VI \times 256$  pp. 21s.

There is perhaps no country in the world about which more has been written than the Island of Ceylon. Writers of far distant times and of many different lands have made it their theme. "Lanka, the Resplendent," the island of gems, the land of mystery and romance, was well known in the early ages by the peoples of India, Burma, China, Siam and Cambodia. As a "Pearl drop on the brow of Ind," and the land of "the hyacinth and ruby," it became familiar before the Christian Era to the Greeks and Romans who gave it the name "Taprobane". The Serendib of the Arabs and Persians, it is the scene of many of the adventures recounted in the familiar story of Sinbad the sailor. In the middle ages, many manuscripts about it appeared and after the Portuguese conquest of the Maritime provinces in 1505, their historians began to write freely about the island of spices, and this example was at a later date followed by their successors the Dutch. Nor was there a failure on the part of British voyagers and travellers to contribute to the general stock of literature on the subject. Apart from the unique and specially interesting narrative of Robert Knox of his captivity in the Island, a long and varied list of English books on the subject has been published, of which Emerson Tennent's monumental work has done most to focus attention towards the various resources and interests of the Island. Its history, people, language, literature and industries have been dealt with over and over again, and literary effort has not been sparing in portraying the beauties of Ceylon.



With all these numerous works in mind, the first thought that strikes one when taking up Major Enriquez's Ceylon, Past and Present, which is the latest book dealing with the Island, is that the writer of to-day needs to have a wider knowledge than ever of the history, topography, religion and customs of the country, and also, how difficult it must be for him to avoid saying anything that does not appear hackneyed and familiar. The author is a Major in the Indian Army who was spending a holiday in the Island for the sake of his health. When it is known that he was here only for a few months, the ambitiousness of this attempt by him to narrate important geographical, archaeological and historical facts, and at the same time to give an informative description of the Island will be fully realized. Those who are acquainted with the other works of travel written by the same author will be even more charmed with this book.

Published by Hurst and Blackett Ltd., London, the book is well got up and is both entertaining and instructive. Of the twenty-one chapters, ten deal with the past glories of the Island and the remaining eleven are confined to a description of its present condition. The portion dealing with the past is rather sketchy and disconnected, and the writer seems to lose sight of the important fact that the majority of his readers are not well acquainted with the early history of the Island. Notwithstanding this defect, he has succeeded in directing attention to the constant reversals of fortune which made the courts of the early Sinhalese kings uncertain residences and prevented progressive improvement in art and civilization. The author wields a facile pen and when he writes about the ruined cities, his descriptions are wonderfully interesting. Although Major Enriquez professes to have the greatest admiration for Buddhism, he makes no bones about a straightforward pronouncement that the famous tooth relic and the footprint on Adam's Peak are both fakes.

With regard to the "Present," the author has excelled himself, and proves that he is an experienced traveller and a very keen observer. He is perfectly frank in his criticisms and has shown much insight into the present political and economic situation. He does not seem to have a very high opinion of the working of democracy in Ceylon, or to have any great faith in the movement. Chapter 19 on "the triumph of pure reason" is not only interesting but amusing.

The book on the whole is a valuable addition to the large amount of literature on the Island. It is cleverly written, and the writer seems to have the happy gift of describing the exquisite scenery of the Island with almost poetic inspiration. It is printed in good type—more and more each year many a reviewer and reader sets store by this feature of a book—and illustrated and bound well. It also contains useful appendices and notes on travel.

A. N. W.

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